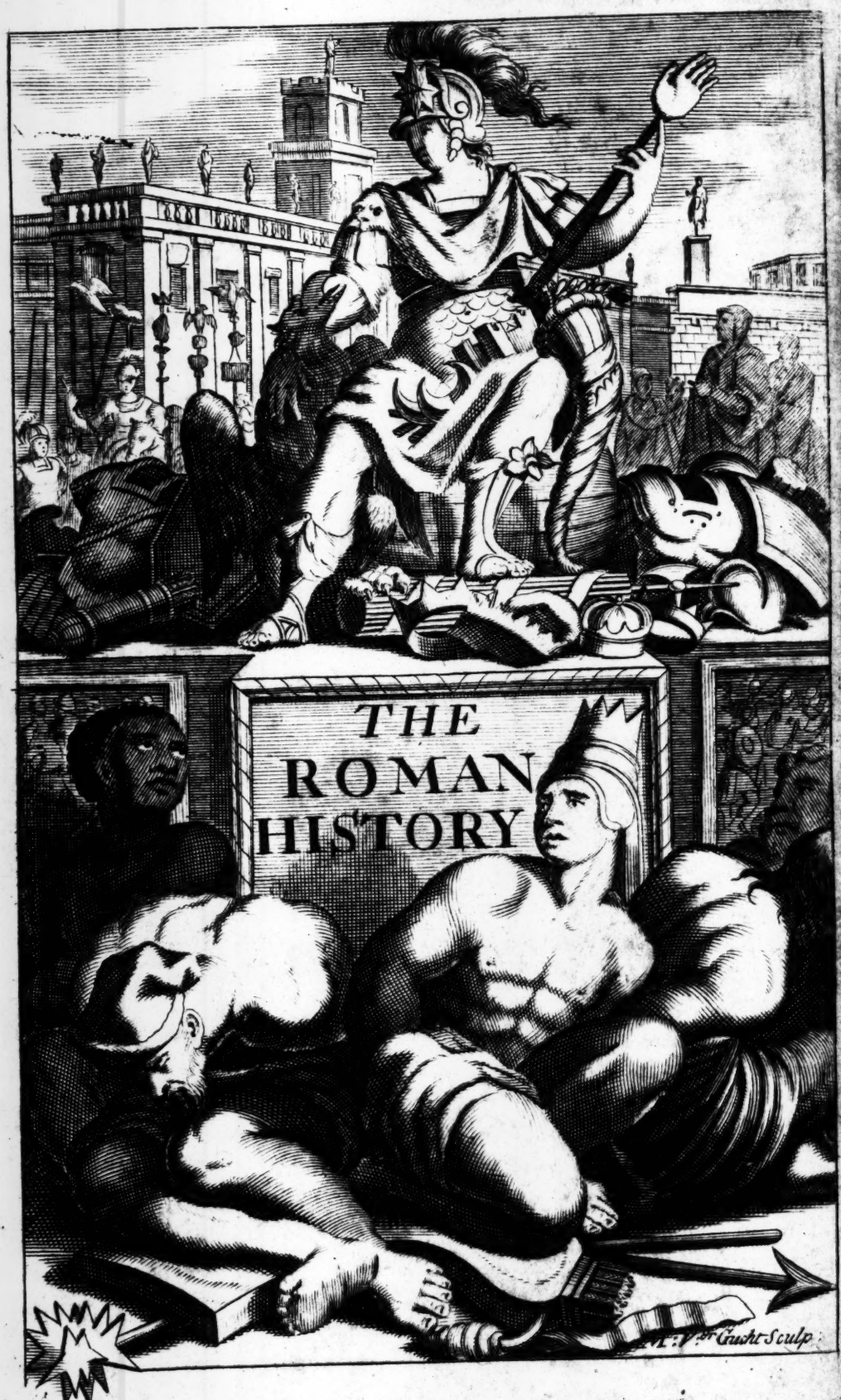
THE
ROMAN
HISTORY

K Echard (L.)

THE ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of the City,

To the Perfect

Settlement of the EMPIRE

BY

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR:

Containing the Space of 727 Years.

Design'd as well for the Understanding of the *Roman* Authors, as the *Roman* Affairs.

The Sixth Edition, *carefully revis'd, and much improv'd.*

By *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A.M.
Of *Christ-College* in *Cambridge.*

LONDON,

Printed for *R. Bonwick, J. Tonson, W. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, J. Nicholson, T. Newborough, B. Tooke, S. Manship* and *R. Parker.*
MDCCVII.

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MDCCVII.

To the Right Honourable

Sir *John Sommers*, Kt.

Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *ENGLAND.*

And One of His MAJESTY's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

HAving undertaken to collect a ſhort Account of the *Roman* Affairs, I here preſume to preſent it to Your Lordſhip; and were the *Performance* in any degree anſwer-

able to the Nobleneſs of the *Subject*, and the Greatneſs of your Lordſhip's Skill in this, as well as in all the politer Parts of Learning, I might juſtly hope to find it in ſome meaſure acceptable. But how mean ſoever the *Performance* is, I have ſtill ſome fair Proſpect of the *Deſign*; and I was almoſt aſſur'd, from Your Lordſhip's generous Inclinations, to promote the beſt and moſt uſeful Parts of Learning, that *ſuch a Deſign*, cou'd not, by any other Means, be ſo acceptable to the *Publick*, as by having the Advantage of Your Lordſhip's Name before it.

My Lord, I cannot pretend to any ſuch Knowledge of the Law, as to underſtand which is the ſureſt Method of attaining to Perfection in it. But, as I am inform'd, ſome lay their Founda-

Foundation in the ancient Hiſtories of the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*: Others, I am told, only by the Way of *Inſtitutes*, *Reports*, and *Statutes*, arrive to a conſiderable Fame and Practice. But ſome there are, whoſe generous Induſtry carries 'em yet further, who think it neceſſary to ſpend ſome time in the *Roman Hiſtory*, *Claſſical Authors*, *Civil Law*, and the *Pleadings of Cicero*. And, I need not go about to acquaint the World, That Your Lordſhip's Excellency in all theſe, together with Your great natural Endowments, and anſwerable Improvements, did not only give Your Lordſhip very high Advantages over Others, at Your firſt Appearance, but in a very ſhort time rais'd You to the higheſt Dignity in the *Law*, and

and the utmoſt Favour of the greateſt Prince in the World.

I ſpeak not this, *My Lord*, ſo much to celebrate the ſingular Prudence and Juſtice of his Majeſty, in advancing Your Lordſhip to this moſt Honourable Station, as to ſhew the World what peculiar Reaſon I had to offer this humble Addreſs, and how ambitious I was of appearing,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt humble, obedient,

and devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard

THE PREFACE.

THERE are requir'd ſo many Qualifications and Accompliſhments in an Hiſtorian, *and ſo much Care and Niceneſs in writing an* Hiſtory, *that ſome have reckon'd it* One of the moſt difficult Labours that Human Nature is capable of. *And this ſeems the more probable from the ſmall Number of good Hiſtories that ever yet appear'd in the World. Even the principal Writers of the* Roman Hiſtory, *who are doubtleſs as excellent as any in the World, have not been free from Faults, or at leaſt from Criticks, who have been very ready to make their ſeveral Remarks upon 'em.* Polybius, *ſay they, is a very good Author, but is too much addicted to Preaching.* Dionyſius Hal. *is a very great Critick, but too moroſe, and may rather be plac'd among the Writers of* Antiquities *than* Hiſtory. Diodorus Siculus *ſpends too much Time in Fables, and is not free from Trifling, and has but little of the* Roman *Affairs.* Dion Caſſius *they look upon to be fickle, partial, a great Flatterer, and as*

great a Reviler. Appian *is very well for Military Diſcipline, but is often out in the* Roman *Affairs.* Cæſar *only wrote of ſome of his own Matters, and was ſo Modeſt and Juſt as not to call his Book* Hiſtory, *but* Commentaries. *Neither will* Plutarch *nor* Suetonius *go for* Hiſtorians, *they being only* Biographers. Livy, *ſay they, is indeed a great Man, but he is a little too verboſe and circumſtantial, and too much given to Prodigies and* Patavinity. Saluſt *is blam'd for his* Preface, *which, they ſay, is not only large enough for the Hiſtory of the World, but might as well ſtand before any other Book whatſoever. And ſomething they have to ſay of all the reſt, which I need not trouble the Reader withal.*

But notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral Cenſures, moſt of theſe Authors are very extraordinary in their kind, and generally are excellent Patterns to imitate, if it be done with Judgment. But how extraordinary ſoever they are, they are either all Fragments, or elſe ſo unfiniſh'd, that a compleat Body of the Roman *Hiſtory, for ſix or ſeven hundred Years, can never be gotten out of any one of 'em. So that he, who expects to have any tolerable Account of the* Roman *Affairs, for ſo long a time, from old Writers, muſt, beſides his underſtanding the* Latin *and* Greek *Tongues, put himſelf to a conſiderable Expence both of Money and Time; except he will content himſelf with that little he can learn from* Florus, *and ſuch other immethodical and imperfect Epitomies. This Conſideration is ſufficient to vindicate my* Deſign,

in

in this following Collection; *and I know none which is of it ſelf more uſeful for Young Scholars or Gentlemen, or perhaps more entertaining. There never was any thing of this kind in our Language before, nor any thing relating to the* Roman *Affairs, but either what has been intermix'd with much more other Hiſtory, or what has contain'd but a few Years of this Part. Of theſe I find none of any Note beſides* Raleigh, Roſs, Howel, *the Author of the* Hiſtory of the Two Triumvirates, *and* Pedro Mexia, *Author of the* Imperial Hiſtory; *the two laſt of which are Tranſlations.*

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Account of the* Romans, *begins at the Building of the City, but contains but* 586 *Years, ending at the ſecond* Macedonian *War: And tho' it cannot be deny'd but the laſt hundred Years is written with very much Spirit and Judgment, and all of it with as much Skill and Clearneſs; yet, beſides the Inconveniency of being ſo intermix'd with other Matters, all before the firſt* Punick *War, bear no manner of Proportion with the reſt, as to Length.* Roſs *carries on Sir* Walter's *Deſign, but after ſuch a diſproportionate Manner, either for Length or Vigour, that I need not ſay any more of him.* Howel *is much more exact both for Method and Proportion in the* Roman Hiſtory, *than Sir* Walter, *and does not only continue it as far as this goes, but above* 300 *Years further; which he has done with wonderful Pains and Induſtry. Yet notwithſtanding all his Method, he has not*

juſtly proportion'd his Matter; his 57 Years Period, after the Expulſion of the Kings, is too long for the reſt of his Hiſtory; many memorable Actions, between that and the firſt Triumvirate, *are too ſhort; the firſt* Triumvirate *it ſelf is too long in his ſecond Edition, and too ſhort in the firſt; and the ſecond* Triumvirate *is too ſhort in both. Beſides, he is often too flat and inſipid to affect us throughly, and the Actions of the braveſt Men are related too coldly and unconcern'dly to move us as they ought; which, together with his frequent want of* Tranſitions *and Words of* Connection, *and his often mixing of Critical Learning, makes him far leſs pleaſant than otherwiſe he might be. And what ſtill adds to theſe Imperfections, is the Obſcurity of his* Stile, *which proceeds ſometimes from his unlucky or unnatural miſplacing of his Words, and ſometimes from his affecting a Shortneſs, without throughly conſidering and pre-obſerving the Dangers that attend that uſeful way of Writing. His* Collections *indeed are admirable, both for their Uſefulneſs and Exactneſs; his* Deciſions *very juſt and faithful; and his* Learning *very uncommon and curious: In ſhort, we may ſay, that no man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal Matters of all the* Roman *Hiſtorians, than he; and that he was an incomparable* Collector *and* Compiler, *tho' at the ſame time he was but an indifferent* Hiſtorian.

I fear

I fear I have been too long upon this laſt, but ſtill I muſt beg the Reader's leave to conſider the two remaining. The Hiſtory of the two Triumvirates *is a Tranſlation from the* French, *and contains only* 30 *Years, but of the buſieſt Time of the Common-wealth. It is a Hiſtory very ingeniouſly writ, handſomly put together, and faithfully collected; and is far more pleaſant and palatable than* Howel's. *Yet as few Years as it contains, it is manifeſtly too tedious in many places, which is occaſion'd ſometimes from the natural Verboſeneſs of the* French *Temper, and ſometimes from the* Author's *deſcending too particularly to the leſſer and more private Actions of Mankind; which makes him fall from the Majeſty of an* Hiſtorian *to that of a* Biographer. *And, notwithſtanding his being ſo very particular, he has wholly left out all* Cæſar's *Wars with the* Gauls, *which gain'd him ſo much Glory and Reputation, and was the Original of all his future Greatneſs.* Pedro Mexia *is a Tranſlation from the* Spaniſh, *and contains the* Lives *of all the* Roman *and* German *Emperors to his own Time, which plainly ſhews him a* Biographer; *tho', beſides, he has many excellent Marks of a* Hiſtorian. *He begins almoſt at the latter end of this Hiſtory, and in effect contains not much more than* 33 *Years of it; and in that ſhort ſpace he is extreamly imperfect in one of the moſt principal Actions of the* Roman Hiſtory, *namely, the Settlement of the* Roman *Empire by* Auguſtus.

After all this, I ſuppoſe it will be expected, that my own Piece is every way faultleſs, and has all the Perfections that can be deſir'd from a Book of this Size or Proportion; but I will not be ſo fooliſhly vain as to pretend to that; I can only ſay, That I have in ſome meaſure endeavour'd to avoid the Defects and Faults of thoſe Writers whom I have here taken notice of, and likewiſe to imitate their Excellencies, eſpecially thoſe of the Ancients, as far as the Compaſs I have taken wou'd admit of, which has been a ſevere Curb to me. But to come cloſer to the matter, it will be convenient to let the Reader know, in ſhort, what he is to expect from this Book. It is an intire, tho' ſhort, Account of the Roman *Affairs, for 727 Years, in which Compaſs of time, the moſt memorable Things were acted, and the moſt famous of the* Claſſical *Authors flouriſh'd. It is collected with the utmoſt Fidelity from almoſt all the* Roman *Hiſtorians whatſoever, but more eſpecially from theſe ſeven moſt noted,* Dionyſius Hal. Livy, Plutarch, Polybius, Dion Caſſius, Appian, *and* Cæſar. *I found it very inconvenient to croud the Margent of every Page with theſe and many other Names, as many do; but, when it is needful, I quote 'em in the Body of the Book; particularly, when any uncommon Story is related, or any doubtful Point is to be decided. I have likewiſe been oblig'd to ſome of our Modern Writers, but to none ſo much as* Howel, *and the* Hiſtory of the Two Triumvirates, *both whoſe accurate* Collections *have often ſav'd*

me

me much Trouble, tho' I examin'd the Originals from whence they had 'em. Upon that Account I have copy'd 'em in many places, and that too almoſt verbally, whenever I found it both for the Eaſe of my ſelf, and the Advantage of my Book; For I am never cautious in Borrowing, *as long as I acknowledge it, and can benefit my Reader, whoſe Good I always ſtudy before my own Commendation.*

The Method of the Whole I have endeavour'd to make as eaſy and as natural as I cou'd, dividing and diſtinguiſhing the Books, Chapters, *and* Sections, *with all the Skill and Judgment I had; ſo that I hope it will be all of it clearly comprehended, and the principal Matters as eaſily remember'd. Nothing is more neceſſary than convenient Reſting-places for a Reader to take Breath at; and the want of this or the like Method will appear apparently in any Man's reading over* Livy, *For tho' the* Regal State *may there be clearly enough comprehended, by reaſon of the Nature of the Subject; yet the vaſt Variety of the Matter that follows, will not be maſter'd and retain'd without toiling and ſweating: For it is a great Inconvenience when the Reader muſt ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the Matter, where the Author has not done it. Then to make it ſtill more clear, I have all the way intermix'd ſo much* Chronology *and* Geography, *as is neceſſary to illuſtrate the Story.*

The Preface.

As for the Stile, *I have made it as plain and intelligible as I cou'd; and as I have no ways affected Flouriſhes and the* French *Finery, ſo for the moſt part I have avoided all Meanneſs of Words or Expreſſions, endeavouring in ſome meaſure to preſerve the Gravity which belongs to* Hiſtory, *and which ought not to be omitted in a* Collection: *Yet I muſt acknowledge, that I have beſtow'd too little Pains in the perfecting of the* Stile *in ſome places; at leaſt not ſo much as I ſhou'd have done, had it been a Tranſlation of any ancient Author; I mean as to the Niceties of our Tongue, and the Perfection of Periods. The* Speeches *are generally the moſt carefully done, tho' I cou'd ſcarce take any verbally, by reaſon of the little Compaſs I was allow'd: And upon that account I was forc'd in ſome places to follow their Senſe at a diſtance, which ſome that are over-nice will ſcarcely allow to a faithful* Hiſtorian. *And this little Compaſs likewiſe hinder'd me from having all the* Tranſitions *I cou'd have deſir'd, tho' thoſe of the principal Beauties belonging to the Way and Manner of writing Hiſtorical Matters.*

To come to the Uſe *of this Book: It will be particularly uſeful to young Students and Gentlemen, by giving 'em an Inſight into the principal of the* Roman Cuſtoms, Laws, *and* Magiſtrates; *I mean ſuch of 'em as cannot be ſo clearly learn'd from* Roſinus, *and Books of mere* Antiquities. *It is the Hiſtorical Account of all the various*

Occa-

Occaſions and Circumſtances that can beſt clear ſome of theſe things. The Tribunes of the People *may ſerve for one Inſtance of this; for no Man can throughly underſtand the Nature of thoſe Magiſtrates, without reading the Hiſtory of their Creation, and likewiſe of their chief Actions afterwards. And ſtill that this Book might be as compleat as I cou'd make it, I have at the moſt convenient places intermix'd the* Hiſtory of the Roman Learning, *and given a ſhort Account of all the principal* Authors, *as far as this Hiſtory reaches. But ſtill I have taken care to join all this to the reſt, in ſuch a manner as both might make but one entire Body.*

But to ſhew more noble Uſes of this Book, and that I may incite all Gentlemen to be well acquainted with the Roman Hiſtory, *of which this is an* Introduction, *I ſhall give 'em the Senſe of what a very ingenious Man ſays upon this Subject. It is the Story of the Fate and Fortunes of a City that rais'd it ſelf to an Univerſal Empire, and became the Metropolis of the whole World; and all from a Troop of Vagabond Shepherds, pack'd together upon the Banks of* Tiber. *It is a long Train of the Adventures of a People, ſcandalous as it were in their Origine, coming of an Extraction in a manner infamous, born and nurs'd up in Plunderings and Murders, and train'd up in Villanies; who became Wiſe, Frugal, Juſt, paſſionately ſtudious of Glory, till they infinitely over-top'd the reſt of Mankind: A People whoſe Prudence in their Counſels, whoſe Maturity of Deliberations,*

rations, whoſe Diligence in Execution, whoſe pro found Secreſy in the moſt important Affairs, an whoſe noble Reſolution in unavoidable Dangers, an the greateſt Extremities, ought to be remember'd to all Ages. It is a Hiſtory of a State that grew ſo mighty from ſo ſmall Beginnings, of its Progreſs its ſtrange Changes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatneſs, its amazing Exaltation, and the miraculous and almoſt unconceivable Pitch of Glory it arriv'd at; and all by its patient enduring of Hardſhips, by its Perſeverance in Labours, by its exact Obſervation of Laws, by the inviolable Severity of its Diſcipline in the Duties of Peace and War, and by training up a well-regulated and courageous Soldiery, encourag'd and elevated with the ſole proſpect of agrandizing the Roman *Name. It was a Nation that was virtuous through a true Principle of Honour; whoſe Valour was more the Product of the Head than Heart; a Nation that courted or avoided Danger, from a Reſult of Prudence, and knew as well when to expoſe it ſelf, a when to retreat, by the Dictates of Reaſon; and obtain'd the Sovereignty over the reſt of the World more by the Reputation of its Virtue, than the Force of its Arms.*

AN ADVERTISEMENT OF THE *Second Edition of this Book.*

IN the Preface to this Hiſtory I acknowledg'd, that I had not beſtow'd ſufficient pains in the perfecting the *Stile* in ſome places; which proceeded not only from a want of Time, but alſo from the great Care I had upon me of perfecting the *Matter*, and proportioning its ſeveral Parts to that ſmall Compaſs to which I was over-ſtrictly confin'd. The principal Fault, beſides a little Abruptneſs in ſome few Periods, was the having Expreſſions in ſeveral places ſomewhat too low and vulgar for *Hiſtory*, which requires the utmoſt *Purity* as well as the greateſt *Strength*. This fault is in a great meaſure corrected in this Edition; which I aſſert with the greater Freedom, becauſe I have been much aſſiſted by Perſons of the greateſt Judgment in theſe matters, whoſe Names I ought not to mention without their particular Leave.

In examining the *Stile*, I likewiſe found the *Matter* in many places defective, and capable of

of great Improvements with no great Inlarge-
ments, for which reaſon I have made ſevera
conſiderable Additions in moſt Parts of thi
Hiſtory, eſpecially in the laſt Book, and par
ticularly in the third and fourth Chapter
where ſeveral material Actions were manifeſt
ly too ſhort and lamely related. I am truly
ſenſible that I have diſoblig'd thoſe Perſon
who have bought the firſt Edition, in no
putting theſe Additions in diſtinct places
whereby they might have had 'em withou
buying the whole; but I hope they will th
more readily pardon me, ſince theſe Addition
are of that nature, that in many places
wou'd be as difficult to ſeparate 'em from th
Body of the Book, as to ſeparate the Alter
tions made in the *Stile*. I undertook this *Edi*
tion the more willingly, becauſe the Number o
the firſt was ſo ſmall, and therefore the leſs In
jury done to the World; but I here promi
never to make any further Additions to it f
the future, nor any Corrections except thoſe o
the *Preſs*: Of which there are ſome few occa
ſion'd by my diſtance from the Town, whic
I deſire the Reader to correct as he reads th
Book.

TH

THE CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

The Regal State of Rome,

om the Building of the City, to the Overthrow of that Kind of Government.

Containing the Space of 245 *Years.*

HE INTRODUCTION: *Of the Original of* Rome, *and its Inhabitants.*

HAP. I. *From the Building of the City, to the Death of* Romulus, *the first King of* Rome: *Containing the Space of* 37 *Years.*

HAP. II. *From the Death of* Romulus, *to the Death of* Numa Pompilius, *the second King of* Rome: *Containing* 44 *Years.*

HAP. III. *From the Death of* Numa, *to the Death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *the third King of* Rome: *Containing* 33 *Years.*

HAP. IV. *From the Death of* Hoſtilius, *to the Death of* Ancus Marcius, *the fourth King of* Rome: *Containing* 24 *Years.*

HAP. V. *From the Death of* Ancus Marcius, *to the Death of* Tarquinius Priſcus, *the fifth King of* Rome: *Containing* 38 *Years.*

HAP. VI. *From the Death of* Tarquinius Priſcus, *to the*

The CONTENTS.

the Death of Servius Tullius, *the ſixth King of* Rom
Containing 44 *Years.*
CHAP. VII. *From the Death of* Servius Tullius,
the Baniſhment of Tarquinius Superbus, *the ſeve*
King of Rome; *which caus'd the Diſſolution of*
Regal State: *Containing* 25 *Years.*

BOOK II.

The Conſular State of Rome,

From the Beginning of that Governme
to the Ruine of it by the firſt *Tri*
virate.

Containing the Space of 449 *Years.*

CHAP. I. *From the Baniſhment of the laſt King*
the firſt Dictator; *which was the firſt Interm*
of the Conſular Power: *Containing* 10 *Years.*
CHAP. II. *From the Creation of the firſt* Dictator,
the great Retrenchment of the Conſular Power *by*
Tribunes of the People: *Containing* 5 *Years.*
CHAP. III. *From the Creation of the* Tribunes of
People, *to the ſecond Intermiſſion of the* Conſu
Power *by the* Decemviri: *Containing* 42 *Years.*
CHAP. IV. *From the Creation of the* Decemviri,
the third Intermiſſion of the Conſular Power *by*
Military Tribunes: *Containing* 8 *Years.*
CHAP. V. *From the Creation of the* Military T
bunes, *to the burning of* Rome *by the* Gauls; *w*
almoſt ruin'd the Roman *Nation: Containing* 54 *Y*
CHAP. VI. *From the burning of* Rome *by the* Ga
to the Wars with the Samnites; *when the* Rom
b

egan much to extend their Conquests: Containing 46 ears.

HAP. VII. *From the first Wars with the* Samnites, o the *Wars with* Pyrrhus, *King of* Epirus, *the first* Foreigner *they had to deal with; wherein the* Romans egan *to learn the Arts of War: Containing* 63 *Years.*

HAP. VIII. *From the beginning of the Wars with* Pyrrhus, *to the first* Punick *or* Carthaginian *War; when the* Romans *first set foot out of* Italy: *Containing* 16 *Years.*

HAP. IX. *From the beginning of the first* Punick *War, to the Beginning of the second; the* Romans *now growing powerful by Sea, as well as by Land: Containing* 17 *Years.*

HAP. X. *From the Beginning of the second* Punick *War, to the finishing of it by* Scipio Africanus; *when the* Romans *became perfect in the Arts of War: Containing* 17 *Years.*

HAP. XI. *From the End of the second* Punick *War, to the End of the third, and the Destruction of* Carthage; *when* Rome *got clear of all her Rival States: Containing* 55 *Years.*

HAP. XII. *From the Destruction of* Carthage, *to the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi; *which much shook the Government, and was the first Step to the Ruine of the* Consular State: *Containing* 23 *Years.*

HAP. XIII. *From the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi, *to the End of the first Civil War in* Italy; *and to the perpetual* Dictatorship *of* Sylla; *which was the second great Step to the Ruine of the* Consular State: *Containing* 41 *Years.*

HAP. XIV. *From the perpetual* Dictatorship *of* Sylla, *to the first* Triumvirate, *namely,* Cæsar, Pompey, *and* Crassus; *which prov'd the Ruine of the* Consular State, *and was the first Step to the setting up of the* Imperial: *Containing* 22 *Years.*

BOOK

The CONTENTS.

the Death of Servius Tullius, *the ſixth King of* Rom
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virate.

Containing the Space of 449 *Years.*

CHAP. I. *From the Baniſhment of the laſt King,*
the firſt Dictator; *which was the firſt Intermi*
of the Conſular Power: *Containing* 10 *Years.*
CHAP. II. *From the Creation of the firſt* Dictator,
the great Retrenchment of the Conſular Power *by*
Tribunes of the People: *Containing* 5 *Years.*
CHAP. III. *From the Creation of the* Tribunes of
People, *to the ſecond Intermiſſion of the* Conſu
Power *by the* Decemviri: *Containing* 42 *Years.*
CHAP. IV. *From the Creation of the* Decemviri,
the third Intermiſſion of the Conſular Power *by*
Military Tribunes: *Containing* 8 *Years.*
CHAP. V. *From the Creation of the* Military T
bunes, *to the burning of* Rome *by the* Gauls; *wh*
almoſt ruin'd the Roman *Nation: Containing* 54 *Ye*
CHAP. VI. *From the burning of* Rome *by the* Ga
to the Wars with the Samnites; *when the* Rom
by

egan much to extend their Conqueſts: Containing 46 ears.

HAP. VII. *From the firſt Wars with the* Samnites, *o the Wars with* Pyrrhus, *King of* Epirus, *the firſt Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the* Romans egan *to learn the Arts of War: Containing 63 Years.*

HAP. VIII. *From the beginning of the Wars with* Pyrrhus, *to the firſt* Punick *or* Carthaginian *War; when the* Romans *firſt ſet foot out of* Italy: *Containing 16 Years.*

HAP. IX. *From the beginning of the firſt* Punick *War, to the Beginning of the ſecond; the* Romans *now growing powerful by Sea, as well as by Land: Containing 17 Years.*

HAP. X. *From the Beginning of the ſecond* Punick *War, to the finiſhing of it by* Scipio Africanus; *when the* Romans *became perfect in the Arts of War: Containing 17 Years.*

HAP. XI. *From the End of the ſecond* Punick *War, to the End of the third, and the Deſtruction of* Carthage; *when* Rome *got clear of all her Rival States: Containing 55 Years.*

HAP. XII. *From the Deſtruction of* Carthage, *to the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi; *which much ſhook the Government, and was the firſt Step to the Ruine of the* Conſular State: *Containing 23 Years.*

HAP. XIII. *From the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi, *to the End of the firſt Civil War in* Italy; *and to the perpetual* Dictatorſhip *of* Sylla; *which was the ſecond great Step to the Ruine of the* Conſular State: *Containing 41 Years.*

HAP. XIV. *From the perpetual* Dictatorſhip *of* Sylla, *to the firſt* Triumvirate, *namely,* Cæſar, Pompey, *and* Craſſus; *which prov'd the Ruine of the* Conſular State, *and was the firſt Step to the ſetting up of the* Imperial: *Containing 22 Years.*

BOOK

The CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

The Mix'd State of Rome,

From the Beginning of the first *Triumv*
rate, to the perfect Settlement of th
Roman Empire.

Containing the Space of 33 *Years.*

CHAP. I. *From the Beginning of the first* Triumv
rate, *to the Death of* Craſſus, *one of the Combinatio*
which broke and divided that Party: Containing 7 *Yea*

CHAP. II. *From the Death of* Craſſus, *to the Death*
Pompey; *which made way for* Cæſar's *abſolute A*
thority, and was the ſecond Step to the Imperial State
Containing above 5 *Years.*

CHAP. III. *From the Death of* Pompey, *to the Dea*
of Cæſar; *which finiſh'd the firſt* Triumvirate, *but fi*
kept down the Conſular State: *Containing* 4 *Years.*

CHAP. IV. *From the Death of* Cæſar, *to the Defe*
and Deaths of Brutus *and* Caſſius, *by the ſecond* T
umvirate, Octavius, Anthony, *and* Lepidus; *wh*
ruin'd the Remains of the Commonwealth: Contain
above two Years.

CHAP. V. *From the Deaths of* Brutus *and* Caſſius,
the Baniſhment of Lepidus, *which vary'd the Courſe*
the Triumvirate's *Power: Containing* 6 *Years.*

CHAP. VI. *From the Baniſhment of* Lepidus, *to*
Death of Anthony; *which made way for* Octaviu
abſolute Authority; and was the laſt Step to the Imp
rial State: *Containing* 6 *Years.*

CHAP. VII. *From the Death of* Anthony, *to the*
fect Settlement of the Empire by Octavius; *which*
ed all Diſturbances, and brought Rome *to its utm*
Glory: Containing 3 *Years.*

TH

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK I.

The Regal State of ROME, *from the Building of the City, to the Overthrow of that Kind of Government.*

Containing the ſpace of 245 *Years.*

The INTRODUCTION.

Of the Original of Rome, *and its Inhabitants.*

I. IN relating ſuch great and remarkable Affairs as thoſe of the *Romans*, it will be neceſſary to give ſome Account of the Original of that People: And, to make the Account as clear and intelligible as I can, it may not be amiſs firſt to obſerve, That that Country which was anciently call'd *Italy*, of which *Rome* was afterwards the chief City, did not contain above one half of what now goes by that Name. But as ſmall as it was, it contain'd many diſtinct Nations and People; the principal of which were the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians* or *Tuſcans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabri*, *Lucanii*, and *Brutii*; and others of inferior note, which were often dependent on

theſe. As for the reſt of what is now call'd *Italy*, that was principally poſſeſs'd by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the *Hetrurians*, and ſettl'd themſelves in theſe Parts; being diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Names, as the *Senones*, the *Inſubres*, &c. This Part went by the Name of *Gallia Cis-Alpina* and *Togata*, to diſtinguiſh it from that *Gaul* which is now call'd *France*, and was almoſt the ſame with the preſent *Lombardy*: The chief Inhabitants of it, beſides the ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls*, were the *Ligures* and the *Veneti*.

Of all the forementionꝰd People, the *Aborigines*, afterwards call'd by the Name of *Latines*, were of principal Note; not upon the account of any particular Excellency, but as being better known, and much more enquir'd after by all Hiſtorians. Theſe were of the Poſterity of the *Oenotrians*, a *Grecian* People of *Arcadia*, who had driven out the *Siculi*, the firſt Inhabitants of theſe Parts of *Italy*. They poſſeſs'd the Country of *Latium*, a ſmall Country along the River *Tiber*, about 30 Miles in length, and 16 in breadth, containing near a fourth part of that little Province in the Pope's Dominions, now call'd *Campagna-di-Roma*. We find theſe govern'd by their own Kings nigh 200 Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and above 1300 before *Chriſt*; the firſt Kings we hear of in *Italy*, or in all *Europe*, except *Greece*. Theſe Kings kept their Courts at *Laurentum*, a City about five Miles off the Mouth of the River *Tiber*; and were Governors of a mixꝰd People: For firſt, ſome *Pelaſgians* out of *Theſſaly* ſettl'd among 'em; ſoon after, *Saturn* from *Creet*, who fled from his Son *Jupiter*, which occaſionꝰd their changing of their Names to *Latines*, *à latendo*, from his lying hid there; next, *Evander* from *Arcadia*, then *Hercules* from *Greece*, with their ſeveral Followers.

Old Latium.

Latini.

But the laſt who ſettl'd in this Country, according to *Dionyſius*, were ſome Relicks of the *Trojans*, under the Conduct of their Prince *Æneas*, who had left

left his native Country, and his inrag'd Enemies, to ſeek out Foreign Habitations. Theſe were about 1200 in all, tho' ſome will allow but half that number; and arriv'd in theſe Parts three Years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and above 400 before the building of *Rome*, *A. M.* 2824. *Æneas* at his firſt landing, was very civilly entertain'd by *Latinus*, the King then reigning, as a Perſon of great Renown, who not only treated him honourably, but gave him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage. This occaſion'd a War between him and *Turnus*, a Prince of the *Rutuli*, their near Neighbours, who had formerly made Pretenſions to her; but theſe Wars ſoon ended in *Turnus*'s death, which did not only free *Æneas* from a Rival, but ſecur'd his Kingdom, which *Latinus* gave him for his Daughter's Portion after his deceaſe. *Æneas* thus ſettl'd, ſoon after built the City of *Lavinium*, in honour of his Wife, about five or ſix Miles Eaſt of *Laurentum*, where he kept his Court; and the more to oblige his Subjects, caus'd both them and his own Country-men to be call'd by the common Name of *Latini*: But ingaging in a bloody War with *Mezentius*, a King of the *Hetrurians*, he was ſlain, after a ſhort Reign of four Years. His Subjects, in honour to his Memory, dedicated a Chappel to him, under the Title of *Jupiter Indiges*. *Jupiter Indiges.*

Upon the death of *Æneas*, his Son *Aſcanius* ſucceeded him in the Throne; but *Lavinia*, being left with Child by him, out of fear fled to the Woods, and was there deliver'd of a Son, who from the place of his Birth had the Name of *Silvius*. Thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, *Aſcanius* left it to his Mother-in-law, and founded *Alba-longa*, about 12 Miles North of it, which he made his Seat. *Aſcanius* had a Son call'd *Iulus*, from whom came the famous Family of the *Julii*; this Son, after his Mother's death, contended with *Sylvius* for the Kingdom; but the People, judging that to belong to *La-* *Julii.*

tinus's Race, gave the Kingdom to *Silvius*, and the Priesthood to *Iulus*, in whose Family it thenceforth continu'd. After *Silvius*, succeeded 13 Kings of the same Race, for nigh 400 Years, who all had their Seats at *Alba*, and many of them likewise had the Name of *Silvius*: These Kings were as following; *Æneas Silvius*, who reign'd 31 Years, *Latinus*, who reign'd 51, *Alba* 39, *Capetus* I. 26, *Capys* 28, *Capetus* II. 13, *Tiberinus* 8. *Agrippa* 24, *Alladius* 19, *Aventinus* 37, *Procas* 23, *Amulius* 42, and *Numitor*, who was the last King of *Alba*. Except the two last, we have but little remarkable concerning these Kings, only *Tiberinus* gave Name to the River *Tiber*, by being drown'd in it, it being before call'd *Albula*; and *Aventinus* gave Name to Mount *Aventine*, one of the seven Hills of *Rome*.

Tiber.

Aventine.

These were call'd the Kings of *Alba*, or of Old *Latium*, which scarce contain'd the sixth part of what was call'd *Latium* in *Augustus*'s Reign; which then comprehended not only the Old *Latini*, but also the *Rutuli*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volsci*, and *Arunci*. This Kingdom, tho' very small, according to the Dimensions before given of it, was very Fruitful, Populous, and full of Towns, and *Alba* it self was a great and flourishing City, and had been the Mother of thirty *Latine* Towns, when it was destroy'd by *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome*.

New *Latium.*

A. M. 3209. II. But to come close to the *Roman* Story, *Amulius* and *Numitor*, the two last of these Kings were Brothers; and it was agreed between them, that *Numitor* the Eldest, should have the Kingdom, and *Amulius* the Treasure and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. But Money having the Advantage of meer Authority, *Amulius* soon got his Brother out of his Kingdom; and, to secure it to himself against the Pretensions of his Posterity, caus'd his Son *Lausus* to be murther'd in a pretended Hunting, and his Daughter

Daughter *Rhea* to be made a *Veſtal* Virgin. In the fourth Year of her Prieſthood, going to fetch Water, ſhe was met and raviſh'd by ſome Lover, or probably by *Amulius* himſelf, rather, as was ſuppos'd, to ſerve his other Deſigns, than to gratify his Luſt. But for the honour of the Cauſe, the Fact was laid upon *Mars*, in whoſe Grove it was committed, who came to her, as they will have it, in a moſt dreadful manner, with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* proving with Child, was deliver'd of two Boys, and thereupon was condemn'd to Death, or perpetual Impriſonment, and her Children were thrown into the River. But the Wind and Stream were both ſo favourable, that at the Fall of the Water, they were left ſafe upon dry Ground, and there happily found by *Fauſtulus*, *Amulius*'s Herds-man, and ſuckl'd by his Wife *Laurentia*, who, for her infamous Life, was call'd *Lupa*; and this probably might occaſion the famous Story of their being nouriſh'd by a *Wolf*: The Names of theſe Twins were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

The Children, grown up, prov'd Active and Couragious, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of their Birth; but the Meanneſs of their Education gave 'em occaſion of falling out with ſome of *Numitor*'s Herdsmen; in which Conteſt *Remus* was taken Priſoner, and brought before the King. Upon which *Fauſtulus* diſcover'd to *Romulus* all the Particulars of his Birth and hard Uſage from *Amulius*; begging him to be aſſiſtant in the Reſcue of *Remus*. *Romulus* ſoon drew together a great number of Herdſmen and inferior People, who hated *Amulius*, whom he divided into Companies, conſiſting of an hundred Men each; every Captain carrying a ſmall Bundle of Graſs and Shrubs ty'd to a Pole. The *Latines* call ſuch Bundles *Manipuli*; from whence it is, that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making At- *Manipulares.*

tacks from without, *Amulius* not knowing what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Diſtraction, was taken and ſlain; the Brothers ſettling their Grand-father *Numitor* in his Throne, after he had been depos'd forty two Years.

A. M. 3251. The Affairs of *Alba* ſucceeding thus proſperouſly, the young Men, ambitious of Glory, were deſirous of Founding a City in the Place where they were brought up; which Deſign was approv'd of by their Grand-father, who appointed 'em Land, with ſuch of his Subjects as he knew were of his Brother's Faction; and likewiſe gave free liberty to all others who were willing, to ſettle themſelves in this new Colony. Moſt of the *Trojans* came in, (of which there remain'd fifty Families in *Cæſar's* time, as *Dionyſius* informs us) and alſo all the Inhabitants about the *Palatine-Hill*, where the City was built, which was about 14 Miles North-Weſt of *Alba*, upon the River *Tiber*. For the more ſpeedy carrying on this Work, the People were divided into two Parts, who were to work by way of Emulation: But what was deſign'd for a conſiderable Advantage, prov'd a greater Inconveniency; for it gave birth to two Factions, whereof one preferr'd *Romulus*, and the other *Remus*; which ſwell'd 'em with the ambitious Deſires of Pre-eminence. This ſoon appear'd in their Diſagreement about the Place of Building, *Romulus* contending for the *Palatine*, where they were brought up, and *Remus* for the *Aventine-Hill*. Upon which, the Matter was brought before their Grand-father *Numitor*, who adviſ'd 'em both to go apart, and obſerve the Flying of Birds; and the moſt Fortunate of the two ſhould be counted the Founder of the Colony. They both took their Stations upon their own Hills, and *Remus* firſt had a Flight of ſix Vultures; but *Romulus* having, or pretending to have, double the number, both were

were ſaluted by the Title of *King*. This widen'd the Breach, and the Contention grew ſo hot as to come to a Battel, wherein *Remus* was worſted and ſlain, with ſeveral others, particularly *Fauſtulus* and his Brother *Pliſtinus*. But it is likewiſe ſaid, that before the Battel, *Remus* gave his Brother many great Provocations, particularly by leaping over his Wall, to ridicule him for the Lowneſs of it.

Romulus, now ſole Commander, and 18 Years of Age, began the Foundation of *Rome* in the fourth Year of the ſixth *Olympiad*, according to *Varro*'s Account, which was in the Year of the World 3252, the ſixth Year of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the ſeventh of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, 431 Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, 120 after the Building of *Carthage*, 214 before the beginning of the *Perſian* Empire, and 752 before *Chriſt*: And having got *Augurs*, and ſuch ſort of People from *Hetruria*, he ſet about it with much Ceremony, on the 21 day of *April*, according to *Plutarch*, which Day the *Romans* anniverſarily kept holy, calling it their Country's Birthday. He took in the Mount *Palatine* only, and with a Heifer and a young Bullock plow'd up a Furrow where the Wall was deſign'd; which Cuſtom was afterwards obſerv'd by the *Romans*, both in the building and razing of Cities; and where-ever a Gate was to be made, the Plow was lifted up, which occaſion'd it to be call'd *Porta, à portando aratrum*: All within this Line was call'd *Pomærium*, from *Poſt-Murum*, or *Pone Mœnia*. The City was almoſt ſquare, containing at firſt about 1000 Houſes, and was nigh a Mile in compaſs, with four Gates, namely, *Romanula*, *Janualis*, *Mucionis*, and *Carmentalis*; and a ſmall Territory belong'd to it of 7 or 8 Miles long. *Pomærium.*

Thus we ſee *Rome* in its Original, a ſmall inconſiderable beggarly Place, with Dominions ſtill of leſs Note; which yet from this mean and contemptible Beginning, became Miſtreſs of the World; being

first founded and supported by its *Kings*, then strengthen'd and enlarg'd by its *Consuls*, and at last brought to its utmost Perfection by its *Emperors*. As for the Arts and Contrivances, the Policy and Cunning, the Strength and Valour, and the gradual Proceedings, with the extraordinary Fortune, which contributed to make the *Romans* Masters of such vast and powerful Dominions, these are the Subject of this following *History*.

CHAP. I.

From the Building of the City, to the Death of Romulus, *the first King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 37 *Years.*

U. C. 1. I. *Romulus* having thus founded the City of *Rome*, by his Grand-father's Advice, left the Choice of the Government to the People, who im-

King. mediately made him *King*, according to *Dionysius*; and he receiving it as a Gift from them, his Power became the more plausible and indisputable. The Number of the Colony consisted of about 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse; and the first Method he made use of to increase this Number, was his building a Temple to the *Asylæan* God, which he made a Sanctuary to all Malefactors and discontented Persons, who thereupon came in great Numbers from all the neighbouring Parts. He divided the People

Tribes. into three Parts, which were call'd *Tribes*, that is to

Curiæ. say *Thirds*; and each *Tribe* was divided into ten *Curiæ*, which were much the same as our *Parishes*, as the *Tribes* were like our *Wards*; each *Curia* having its proper Temple and Sacrifices, and a Priest call'd *Curio* over it, and over all an Arch-Priest call'd *Curio Maximus*. Each *Curia* was likewise by *Romulus* subdivided

vided into ten *Decuriæ*, over which were appoint- *Decuriæ.*
distinct Officers. According to the number of
e *Curiæ*, he divided the Lands into 30 Parts, re-
rving one Portion for Publick Uſes, and another
r Religious Ceremonies. In all Matters of Impor-
nce, for many Years, the People gave their Votes
cording to the *Curiæ*, and to what the major Part
the *Curiæ* agreed, was reckon'd the Reſolution of
e whole *Aſſembly*, each ſingle Man having a Vote;
d this made that *Aſſembly* call'd *Comitia Curiata.* *Comitia Curiata.*
Romulus made alſo another Diſtinction of the Peo-
e, according to their Honour and Dignity, which
as into *Patritians* and *Plebeians*: The former, as be- *Patritians.*
g elder, and more nobly deſcended, were to take *Plebeians.*
re about the Religious Rites, bear Offices of Ma-
ſtracy, adminiſter Juſtice, and be aſſiſtant to the
ing in his Government: The latter to till the
elds, feed Cattel, and follow Trades; but not to
ve any Share in the Government, to avoid the In-
nveniences of a Popular Power. To bind the
incipal each to the other, he recommended cer-
in of the *Plebeians* to the Protection of the *Patriti-*
s, liberty being given to the *Plebeians* to chuſe their
vn *Patrons*. The Duty of theſe *Patrons* was to ad- *Patrons.*
ſe their *Clients* in Points of Law, to manage their *Clients.*
its, to take care of 'em, abſent and preſent, as their
vn Children; and by all ways and Methods to
cure their Peace and Happineſs. On the other
e, the Duty of the *Clients* was to help their *Patrons*
th Money upon many occaſions, to ranſom them
their Sons if taken Priſoners, and to bear the
harges of their Magiſtracy, and other honourable
ployments. They were never to accuſe each
her, or take contrary ſides; for if they did, any
e might lawfully kill them without Examination.
that this *Patronage* was an Obligation as effectual
any Conſanguinity or Alliance; and it was the
ory of the Nobility to have a great number of

Clients,

Clients, and to treat 'em civilly. This *Patronage* h admirable Effects towards the firm Union of t People, for above 600 Years after, till *Caius Grac* broke the Peace of the City: And becauſe t *Plebeians* in the City receiv'd ſuch Advantage fr this Conſtitution, in imitation thereof, afterwa all *Colonies*, *Confederate* and *Conquer'd* Cities, had th *Patrons*, to whom frequently the *Senate* would rem ſuch Controverſies as were brought before 'em, a ratifie their Judgment.

After this, *Romulus* choſe 100 Men out of the P *tritians*, to aſſiſt him in the Government. This nu

Senate. ber he call'd a *Senate*, either from their Age or V tue, or, *à ſinendo*, becauſe nothing was tranſac without their *Permiſſion*. Such of the *Fathers* as enroll'd or enter'd into this Venerable Aſſembly,

Patres Conſcripti. call'd *Patres Conſcripti*, as *Dionyſius* rightly obſerve and, to make up this Number, he choſe three o of each *Tribe*, and as many out of each *Curia*; ov all which he plac'd a particular Magiſtrate, whom he committed the Government of the Ci when he was abſent in the Wars; and this Mag

Præfectus Urbis. ſtrate was call'd *Præfectus Urbis*. After this, he i mediately proceeded to ſettle the Authorities *King*, *Senate* and *People*. The *King's* Office at hom was, *To take care of the Religious Rites; to preſerve Laws and Cuſtoms; to decide the chief Cauſes betwe Man and Man, and refer the leſs Matters to the Sena into which he had an Inſpection; to call the Senate, aſſe ble the People, firſt giving his own Opinion, then ratifyi what was approv'd of by the major Part.* Abroad, a in the Wars, *He had abſolute Authority.* The *Sena* Office was, *To debate and reſolve about ſuch things the King propos'd, which were decreed by the Majority Voices.* To the *People* he committed three things; *create Magiſtrates, make Laws, and reſolve upon any W that was propos'd by the King*; yet ſtill in ſuch a ma ner, as the Authority of the *Senate* always interpos

Th

The next thing that *Romulus* did, was to take care a Guard for his Perſon; and therefore he order'd *Curiæ* to chuſe him out 300 luſty young Men, out of each; and theſe were called *Celeres*, *à ce-* *Celeres.*
itate, from their Activity and Readineſs to aſſiſt King upon all occaſions. They were command-
by a *Tribune* or Colonel, call'd *Tribunus Celerum*, *Tribunus*
ree *Centurions*, and other Inferior Officers. This *Celerum.*
ompany, with their Spears, defended the King in e City, and in Battels were the foremoſt Leaders, harging firſt, and Retreating laſt. Beſides theſe, he d for his Attendance, 12 *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, who *Lictors.*
niſh'd Offenders, and executed his Commands; eſe always going before him in Publick, with eir Bundles of Rods, call'd *Faſces*, and their *Axes*, nifying different Puniſhments, according to Mens fferent Crimes. Thus *Romulus*, with all the Indu- y and Prudence imaginable, took care to ſettle State, being very exact in Juſtice, and forbid- ng all ſordid Arts and Trades, eſpecially ſuch as ere ſubſervient to Luxury, which being left wholly Slaves and Strangers, the *Romans* for many Years orn'd to be concern'd in 'em. This is the Form of e Common-wealth, as *Romulus* firſt eſtabliſh'd it, hich in general was ſo excellent, that it was ad- r'd by *Dionyſius* above all the Conſtitutions, even his own Country-men the *Grecians*; and by its ealthfulneſs and robuſt Conſtitution, had all the anifeſt Signs of a thriving and long-liv'd State.

II. *Romulus*, finding he was encompaſs'd with ſe- *U. C.*
ral powerful Nations, who, with envious Eyes be- 4.
ld the extraordinary Growth of this City, and ob- rving how much it was fill'd by Fugitives, who d no Wives, he bethought himſelf of Means to con- act Alliance with his Neighbours, and to procure ives for his Subjects, which was his ſecond Device encreaſe the City: Therefore, by Advice of his Grand-

Grand-father *Numitor*, and the Consent of the S*nate*, he proclaim'd a Solemn Feast and Publi Games, in Honour of *Neptune*, thro' all the Count thereabouts. This immediately occasion'd a gre Concourse of all sorts of People, who came flockin in, with their Wives and Children, from sever Neighbouring Places, to behold these pompo Shows, together with the new City. In the mi of this Solemnity, upon a Signal given, the *Roma* with their drawn Swords, seiz'd on such Virgins they cou'd most conveniently catch, and by ma Force carry'd 'em to their Houses. The Number these amounted to 683, for whom *Romulus* chose many Husbands, and marry'd 'em after their ow Country Rites, making 'em sign a Covenant Agreement, with the Ceremonies of Fire and W ter; which Custom continu'd among the *Rom* for many Ages.

This Act was highly resented by most of the Neighbours, especially the *Sabines*, who were pri cipally concern'd; but their Backwardness in the Preparations made the Cities *Cenina*, *Antemna*, a *Crustumium*, begin the War first. The two form (three or four Miles North of *Rome*, and inhabit by the *Aborigines*) *Romulus* soon subdu'd, with t Death of their King *Acron*, whom he slew in single Combat; and afterwards the latter, a Colon of *Alba*, a little way within the Country of the S*bines*. The Lands were divided between some of t *Romans* and the old Inhabitants, of whom 300 were made free of *Rome*, without losing their fo mer Estates; so that the Foot-men of the City we now much increas'd. For this Victory *Romulus* fi Triumph'd, and bringing home the Spoils of Kin *Acron*, which the *Romans* named *Opima Spolia*, *Royal Spoils*, he design'd a Spot of Ground upo Mount *Capitoline* for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretri* so call'd either *à ferendo* to bear, or rather from *feri*

Opima Spolia.

Jupiter Feretrius.

ſtrike; and this was the Place where the *Capitol* erwards ſtood. The Valour of *Romulus* and his od Conduct in this War, together with his Clency to the Conquer'd, had ſo great Effects, that only many eminent Men went over to him h their Families, (amongſt whom was *Cælius*, o gave Name to a Hill in the City) but ſome ole Nations committed themſelves to his Protion, and received Colonies from *Rome*.

This notable Succeſs was a great Diſappointment *U. C.* he *Sabines*, who reſolving to correct their former *6.* releſneſs by double Diligence, aſſembl'd themves at *Cures* their *Metropolis*, proclaim'd War againſt *ne*, and made choice of *Tatius* their King for Geal. On the other ſide, *Romulus* made all poſſible viſion for Reſiſtance, fortifying the *Capitoline* and *entine* Hills, and receiving Auxiliary-Troops both m *Hetruria* and his Grand-father *Numitor*. The *ines*, to have the fairer Pretence, firſt demanded ſtitution of the Virgins, and to have the Authors the Injury deliver'd up to them; but receiving ſatisfactory Anſwer, both Armies drew out into Field, the *Sabines* being 25000 Foot and 1000 rſe, and the *Romans* 20000 Foot and 800 Horſe; reat number for a new-built City. *Tatius* enp'd between the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal*, but found too well fortify'd to be attack'd; but one *Tar*Daughter to *Tarpeius*, Governor of the *Capito*call'd to his Men from above, and agreed to ay the Place into their hands, which was in a t time effected. What ſhe requir'd of 'em, as a ard for this, was what they wore on their left ns, meaning their Bracelets; but they threw their gets upon her, which they wore on their left ns, and preſs'd her to death. From hence this was call'd *Tarpeius*, till the building of the *Capi*which made it loſe the Name, except that part which was call'd the *Tarpeian Rock*, from whence

whence they threw Malefactors down headlon

The *Sabines*, now Maſters of the *Capitoline*, had Advantage of continuing the War at their pleaſu and for a long time only light Skirmiſhes paſt tween both Parties, with little or no Advantage either ſide: But the Tediouſneſs and Charge of War ſo wearied out both *Romans* and *Sabines*, th they very much deſir'd a Peace, but neither wou'd ſtoop to ſue for it. Thus they continu'd fo very conſiderable time, till both reſolving to do th utmoſt, they came to a general Battel, which renew'd ſeveral Days with almoſt equal Succeſs. the laſt Conteſt, the *Romans* were much worſted the beginning, and fled to the *Palatium*; but ral ing and renewing the Fight with Succeſs againſt *Sabines*, the Women who were ſtolen and marri to the *Romans*, and the Cauſe of this War, thro' Perſuaſions of *Herſilia*, one of the principal amo 'em, ran deſperately into the midſt of the Darts a dead Bodies, with their Children in their Arms, a their Hair about their Ears, making ſuch lamen ble Shrieks and Out-crys, that both Armies imm diately deſiſted. Theſe became Mediators, and ma Peace between the Fathers and Sons-in-law, a the War had laſted ſix Years. The Articles we

U. C. 12. Firſt, *That* Romulus *and* Tatius *ſhould reign jointly* Rome, *with equal Power and Prerogative*: Second *That the City from* Romulus *ſhould ſtill be call'd* Rom *Quirites.* *but the Citizens* Quirites, *from* Cures *the native Plac* Tatius: Thirdly, *That now the two Nations ſhould come one, and as many of the* Sabines *as were willi ſhould be made Free of* Rome.

The City being now much increas'd by the nu ber of the *Sabines*, Mount *Capitoline* was taken built upon, and laid out for their Habitation. *Ro lus* choſe out 100 of the moſt Noble of the *Sabi* and added 'em to the *Senate*, ſo that it now conſiſ *Legions.* of 200 Perſons. The *Legions* (ſo call'd *ab eligen*

becau

cauſe they were choice ſelect Men) which before
rain'd 3000 Men, were now increas'd alſo to
oo, whence a *Legion* was call'd *Quadrata*; yet af-
wards a *Legion* compriz'd as many Men as was
nd convenient for the Service of the Common-
alth. Several new Feaſts were inſtituted upon
account of this Union, as *Matronalia*, *Carmen-*
, &c. and a particular reſpect was had to thoſe
omen who procur'd this happy Reconciliation,
ſeveral Privileges were allow'd 'em, particularly
y were exempted from all Work unleſs Spinning
making of Cloth. Now the Tribes were call'd
diſtinct Names; the firſt *Rhamnenſes*, from *Romu-*
; the ſecond *Tatienſes*, from *Tatius*; and the third
eres, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Aſylum*
od. For five Years the two Kings reign'd qui-
and peaceably together; but in the ſixth, *Ta-*
protecting ſome of his Friends who had robb'd
plunder'd the *Lavinians*, and killing the Am-
ſadors who were ſent to demand Satisfaction,
ſlain by the *Lavinians* at his going to ſacrifice
re. *Romulus*, like a generous Prince, made Sa-
ction to the injur'd Perſons, and bury'd *Tatius*
Rome very honourably.

H. *Romulus*, once more ſole Monarch of *Rome*, *U. C.*
ch'd againſt *Fidenæ*, and ſubdu'd it, a Town 18.
Miles off *Rome*, that had ſeiz'd on Proviſions
ing thither in time of Famine; and ſoon after,
ook *Cameria*, an *Alban* Colony not far diſtant;
both which he ſent a ſufficient number of *Ro-*
to inhabit 'em, according to his uſual Cuſtom.
n he puniſh'd the *Cruſtumini*, who had kill'd
Planters which he had plac'd among 'em;
over all theſe he obtain'd a ſecond Triumph.
Action of *Romulus* againſt the *Fidenates* was ex-
ely reſented by the *Veientes* their Neighbours,
immediately by an Embaſſy requir'd the *Ro-*

mans

mans to withdraw their Garriſon, and reſtore
Inhabitants to all their former Privileges. The
Veientes were one of the twelve Nations of *Hetru*
a powerful People, inhabiting a ſtrong City, a
of extraordinary Largeneſs, ſituated upon a crag
Rock, about 12 Miles North of *Rome*. Their D
mands being rejected, they began their Acts of H
ſtility, and both Armies met at *Fidenæ*; where,
ter two ſharp Engagements, *Romulus* became Co
queror. The *Veientes* were now forc'd to bet
themſelves to Intreaties, and ſo enter'd into
League with the *Romans* for 100 Years, upon the
U. C. Articles; *To quit a ſeventh Part of their Domini*
21. *with their Salt-pits nigh the River, and to give up f*
Hoſtages of the moſt conſiderable Families. *Romulus*
this, triumph'd a third time, leading with him th
General, an aged Man, who had ſo badly perform
his Duty, that he was afterwards perſonated by
old Man in all Triumphs.

This was the laſt War manag'd by *Romulus*, w
after that employ'd moſt of his time in ſettling
Government, and placing it upon the ſureſt Fo
dations. He made many good and profitable La
moſt of which were unwritten. Particularly
made one concerning Marriages, where the Aut
rity of the Husband was ſo well and convenien
ſettl'd, that for 520 Years a Divorce was not kno
in *Rome*. He gave Fathers abſolute Power over th
Sons, to ſell, impriſon, ſcourge, or kill 'em, tho
never ſo great an Office, and that as long as t
liv'd. He appointed no Puniſhment for real P
cide, but call'd all Murder by that Name; think
the latter a deteſtable Crime, but the other imp
ble: And it was indeed a Crime never known
Rome for 600 Years. For the Peoples way o
ving, he enjoin'd two Courſes of Life, *Warfare*
Husbandry, equally dividing the Lands, Slaves,
Money, taken from the Enemy; he appoin

M

Market once in nine Days, which from thence was call'd *Nundinæ*. When any Town was taken, he suf- *Nundinæ.*
fer'd no Prisoner of Man's Age to be slain or sold, or their Lands left untill'd, but order'd a Colony from *Rome* to cultivate them, and some of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom and Privileges of the City; and this was his third Contrivance to increase the City. As to Controversies that might arise upon any Injuries, he immediately decided 'em, or referr'd 'em to others, inflicting speedy Punishments according to the Nature of the Crime. Finding Publick Spectacles to have a great Influence upon the People, he set up his Judgment-Seat in the most conspicuous Place in the *Forum*, where his Guard of 300 *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors* with their Rods and Axes, in view of all the People, scourging or executing Malefactors, occasion'd an extraordinary Awe and Respect.

In the latter end of his Reign, whether swell'd with the Imagination of his former Successes and present Security, or carry'd away with some pleasing Notions of Arbitrary Government, he began to grow very Tyrannical, inlarging his Prerogative beyond those Bounds he had formerly set to it, and making use of the *Senate* only to ratify his Commands. Tho' he was extremely belov'd by the Common People, yet these Actions gain'd him the Hatred of the Nobility and Senate, and brought him to an untimely Death; he being torn in pieces, as is generally believ'd, in the Senate-House, the Senators carrying his Body out by piece-meal under their Gowns, to prevent Discovery. The Senators took an occasion from the Secresy of the Fact, and the Concealment of the Body, to persuade the Multitude that he was taken up among the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, one of the Chief of the Nobility, did most put all out of doubt, by swearing solemnly, that *Romulus* appear'd to him, and told him, *It*

was the Pleaſure of the Immortal Gods to have him con
tinue among Mandind, till he had founded a City who
Empire and Glory ſhou'd far ſurpaſs all others. He ba
him farewel, and tell his Subjects, that by their ſtrict Ex
ercise of Temperance and Fortitude, no human Power ſhou
e'er withſtand the Roman *Arms; and he wou'd alwa*
Quirinus. *be a propitious God to 'em, under the Name of* Quirinu
The Day in which he was ſaid to be taken up, w
kept after that as a great Holy-day; and a Temp
was built in Honour of him on one of the ſeve
Hills, from him call'd by the Name of *Quirinalis.*

He reign'd 37 Years, in which ſpace he ver
much advanc'd the State of the City, leaving in
46000 Foot and 1000 Horſe; a happy Increaſe f
ſo ſhort a time. After his Grand-father *Numito*
deceaſe, the Kingdom of *Alba* fell to him, whic
he govern'd by Deputies; and the more to plea
that People, he allow'd 'em the Privileges of a Fre
State, which probably occaſion'd the Senate to be
his Encroachments the worſe. So now the *Rom*
Dominions conſiſted of a conſiderable Part of t
Sabines Country, a ſmall Part of *Hetruria*, and
mix'd Part of *Latium.*

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Romulus, *to the Dea of* Numa Pompilius, *the Second Ki of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 *Years.*

A. C. 38. I. ROmulus being dead, or, as ſome are plea to believe, taken up; the City was gre
ly divided about the Election of another King
but leſt theſe Diſcords ſhou'd occaſion Anarchy a
Confuſion in the Common-wealth, the *Senate* agre

o divide themſelves into *Decuries* or Tens, and that *Decury* which was choſen by Lot, ſhould exerciſe the Regal Authority for 50 Days, each Man governing n his turn five days, the Authority then falling to nother *Decury*; and this they call'd an *Inter-regnum.* *Inter-reg.*
his Government continu'd a whole Year, till the eople at laſt began to murmur, ſaying, *It was a rick of ſome few, who intended to get the Power into eir own hands, and that for one pretended Tyrant, they ad now got 200 real ones*; therefore they reſolv'd hat a King ſhould be choſen. In the Election great ontеſts aroſe between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, each elieving it reaſonable to have one of their own ountry; till at length they came to this Conclu-on, That the Party which elected ſhou'd chuſe one ut of the Body of the other, ſo by that means the ected Prince might be oblig'd to favour both Par-es, one for their Votes, and the other for their Al-ance. It falling to the *Romans* to chuſe, the *Patri-ns* fix'd upon *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, a Perſon of out 40 Years of Age, who by the Conſent of the eople was elected King. *Numa* then reſided at *Cures*, ing a Perſon of the greateſt Virtue, Knowledge d Abilities of that time, and had withdrawn him-lf from the Noiſes and Troubles of the World; there-re *Ambaſſadors*, one a *Roman*, and the other a *Sabine*, ere diſpatch'd to him to offer him the *Kingdom.*

The Ambaſſadors finding him with his Father d Kinſman *Marcius*, by their Speakers, *Proculus* and *leſus*, told him the occaſion of their coming: To hom the elected King made this philoſophical and odeſt Anſwer: *Since every alteration of a Man's Life generally hazardous in the Attempt, as well as dange-us in the Conſequence; it wou'd be the higheſt Indiſcre-n for one, who, in his own Opinion, is ſufficiently happy, endeavour, or admit of any Change; tho' there were no-ing more in it, than the preferring a turbulent and un-tain Life, before a conſtant Quiet and certain Security.*

For my part, Romans, *I must freely tell you, That I am not only discourag'd, but even deterr'd from accepting your generous Offers, even by what is commonly reported of your famous* Romulus, *who was not only suspected of contriving* Tatius's *death, but was likewise suppos'd to fall himself by the Rage of the* Senate. *And if* Romulus *himself sprung, as they say, from Divine Race, miraculously preserv'd, and as miraculously brought up, labour'd under such vast Inconveniences; how successful can I hope to be, begotten by a meer Mortal, and brought up the ordinary way, when I come to struggle with such insuperable Difficulties? Besides you much mistake your Person, as well as forget your Interest and Glory, when you think I can be as ways serviceable to you: For my Temper naturally leads me to Peace, to Books, and the Worship of the Gods; but you* Romans *require a vigorous and active King, who may diligently cherish that warlike Humour which your late Success has excited: And therefore such a Prince as should come to inculcate Peace, Justice, and Religion into the Minds of a Martial Nation, must of necessity appear not only strange and ridiculous to the World, but also mean and despicable to his Subjects.*

The *Romans* were much surpriz'd at this Answer, but still were very urgent with him to accept of the Kingdom; in which they were not a little assisted by his Father and *Marcius,* who return'd him this Reply: *Tho' you remain contented with your present Fortune, and court neither Riches nor Power; yet you may reasonable imagine, that such large Talents of Justice, Moderation, and Piety, were never given you by the Gods to be useless and conceal'd: And you are sensible these are Vertues than can never have a greater Influence upon Mankind, that when they so publickly appear in the Person of a King.* Tatius, *tho' a Foreigner, was highly esteem'd by the* Romans, *and the Memory of* Romulus *was so precious to 'em, that after his Decease, they voted him divine Honours: And if the Affections of the People shou'd break out into a furious Desire of War, what can better man-*

he Reins of that Paſſion, than ſuch a moderating Hand as yours? And who knows but that the People, being ever victorious, may be ſatiated with the Spoils and Trophies they have gain'd, and gladly entertain a mild and peaceful Prince, who being a Lover of Juſtice and Equity, may ſettle the City in a ſtrong and inſeparable Union, and in a ſure and laſting Happineſs? Theſe Reaſons and Perſuaſions, together with the Ambaſſador's Entreaties, at laſt prevail'd upon *Numa* to accept of the Kingdom; and after a ſolemn Sacrifice, he went for *Rome*. He was met by the Way by the *Senate* and *People*, who with a general Conſent inveſted him with the Regal Authority; and ſo univerſal was the Joy, that they ſeem'd not ſo much to receive a King, as the addition of a new Kingdom.

II. *Numa* being a Perſon of extraordinary Wiſdom and Policy, as well as Devotion, thought it moſt convenient to raiſe and ſtrengthen that City by wholſom Laws, and Religious Cuſtoms, which had been founded upon War and Bloodſhed; judging it as neceſſary to employ a People well at home, as to exerciſe 'em abroad. The firſt thing he did was to disband the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, leſt the Mantenance of ſuch a Force might ſeem to argue a Diffidence of them that choſe him, ſaying, *That he wou'd not rule over that People, of whom he conceiv'd the leaſt Diſtruſt.* Next, he built a Temple to *Janus*, which was always to ſtand open in time of War, and to be ſhut in time of Peace, as it continu'd all his Reign; which, as ſome obſerve, never happened but four times from his Reign to that of *Tiberius Cæſar*. To the two *Flamens* or High-Prieſts of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added a third of *Quirinus* or *Romulus*; and to this Prince alſo is aſcrib'd the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he himſelf was one, and officiated accordingly. He alſo ordain'd the *Veſtal* Virgins, being four in number, to whom he gave very *U. C.* 40. *Janus.* *Pontifices.* *Veſtal* Virgins.

very great Privileges; particularly, when they went abroad, they had the *Fasces* carry'd before 'em, and in their Walks, if they met with a Malefactor leading to Execution, they had the Power of freeing him from Death, upon Oath given that the Meeting was meerly accidental. He also instituted the Orders of the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, Priests devoted to *Mars*; the former were to carry those Sacred Shields call'd *Ancilia*, and the latter to judge of the Equity of War, and proclaim it with much Ceremony.

Salii.
Feciales.

This Prince, tho' naturally averse to all Wars, yet consider'd that Peace and Security might too much soften and degenerate the Minds of the Multitude; therefore he us'd his utmost Endeavours to imprint on their Minds the Notions of Religion and Virtue, and the due Reverence of God: And to gain the more Credit and Obedience to his Constitutions, he pretended he had often and immediate Converse with the Goddess *Egeria*, and wou'd be often telling them that strange Visions and Apparitions were seen, and Prophetick Voices heard; which Stories had great and remarkable Effects upon a People so superstitiously inclin'd. Yet his Religion was of a refin'd Nature, being much like that of *Pythagoras* afterwards; and as he taught, *That the Principle of all things was not to be perceiv'd by Sense, nor was liable to Motion, but was Invisible, Immortal, and to be apprehended by the Understanding alone*; so *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to use the Image of any God which represented him under the Form of a Man, or any other living Creature: And this was strictly observ'd in all their Temples and Sacred Places, for 170 Years at the least; they holding it a great Crime to liken such superior Beings to Things so much below 'em.

For the Encouragement of *Agriculture*, he divided those Lands which *Romulus* had gain'd in War among the poorer sort, causing his Subjects to apply themselves to Husbandry, and by such kind of Employ-

ment

ments to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth: Then he divided all the Lands into ſeveral Parcels, o which he gave the Name of *Pagi*, or Boroughs; *Pagus.* nd over every one of theſe he ordain'd a Chief, or Arbitrator in Judicial Cauſes. And that he might ake away all Diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which hreaten'd the State with endleſs Factions and dangerous Diviſions, he divided all the Inhabitants according to their ſeveral *Trades* and *Occupations*, maing every Art a particular *Company* and *Society*, and ppointing to every one their reſpective Courts and Privileges; and this was his Maſter-piece in Politicks. He much abated the Rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the Power of Fathers over their Children, making it unlawful for 'em to ſell their ons after Marriage, becauſe it was very unjuſt that Woman who had marry'd a Free-man ſhou'd be conſtrain'd to live with a Slave. He alſo preſcrib'd Rules concerning Mourning; a Child of 3 Years, nd ſo upwards to 10, was to be mourn'd for ſo many Months as it was Years old; and the longeſt ime of Mourning for any Perſon, was not to exceed the term of 10 Months: Which alſo was the Time appointed for Widows, before which, they ou'd not, without great Indecency, marry again; ut in caſe Circumſtances were ſuch as not to admit of ſo long a Term, they were firſt to ſacrifice a Cow with a Calf for Expiation of their Fault.

One of the principal things done by this Prince was the Reformation of the Year, which, in *Romulus*'s time was much out of Order, ſome Months having more than 35 Days, and ſome fewer than 20. *Numa* finding the *Solar* Year to exceed the *Lunar* by 11 Days, doubled theſe 11 Days, and every other Year inſerted a Month after *February*, conſiſting of 22 Days, which was by the *Romans* call'd *Mercedonius*, becauſe it was the uſual time for paying of Wages. He likewiſe chang'd the Order of the *Mercedonius.*

Months, making *January* and *February* the first and second Months, which were the two last in *Romulus*'s Days. *January* had its Name from *Janus*, the most ancient God or King in *Italy*. *February* was so call'd from the *Expiations* which us'd to be in it, signify'd by the Word *Februa*. *March*, so call'd from *Mars*, the suppos'd Father of *Romulus*, which, upon that account, had been plac'd first. *April* from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, because of the Superstitious Worship which was perform'd in it, when the Women were crown'd with Myrtle. *May*, so nam'd from *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom this Month was made Sacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or, as some will have it, from *Juventus*, because the Season is warm, and, as it were, *Juvenile*. The rest had their Names from their Order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turn'd into *July* and *August*, by the Emperors *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

The Months.

Numa was marry'd to *Tatia*, King *Tatius*'s Daughter, by whom he had one Daughter named *Pompilia*; and after a Reign of 43 Years, being above 80 Years old, he dy'd, and was bury'd with great Honour and Solemnity. He forbad his Body to be burnt, as it was usual in those days, but was bury'd in a Stone Coffin, under the Hill *Faniculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies were laid by him in another, being 12, written in *Latin*, and as many in *Greek*: These were taken up about 400 Years after; and because it was thought a piece of Impiety to communicate such Mysteries to the Multitude, were burnt by Order of the *Senate*. He kept the State in such a constant Peace, by his prudent Management, as did very much contribute to the Strength and Security of the City, and he much improv'd and polish'd the rough *Genius* of the *Roman* People.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

om the Death of Numa, *to the Death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *the Third King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 33 *Years.*

UPon the Death of *Numa*, the Government once more devolv'd upon the *Senate*, and er ſeveral *Interreges*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* was created ng by the univerſal Conſent of all People. He s Grand-ſon to the famous *Hoſtilius*, who, in *Ro-lus*'s Days had behav'd himſelf very valiantly ainſt the *Sabines* in the Citadel, and had marry'd Daughter of *Herſilia*. He was of a bold and y Temper, and one who often ſought and gree-y embrac'd all Occaſions of War; led to it part-by his own proper Inclination, and partly by the ory and Renown of his Grand-father. As he ught the Love of his Subjects the moſt neceſſary ng to carry on the Deſigns of a Warlike Prince; in the beginning of his Reign he purchas'd the od Opinion of the poorer ſort, by dividing to m, Man by Man, that Portion of Land which Predeceſſors, the two former Kings, had kept bear their Charges, ſaying, *That his own Inheri-ce was ſufficient for his own Expences.* That none of ſe might want room, he enlarg'd the City, and k in the Hill *Cælius*, where he alſo had his Palace; d all ſuch as had now gotten Ground, and want-Habitations, built upon it; ſo the City encreas'd Bulk every day. *U. C.* 82.

t was not long before this Prince had a fair Op-tunity of War offer'd him; for *Cluilius* Governor *Dictator* of *Alba*, envying the Growth of *Rome*, procur'd ſome Perſons to rob and pillage in the *U. C.* 84.

the *Roman* Territories, knowing they wou'd reveng the Injury; which, when they did, he perſuade the *Albans*, that they had receiv'd a great Affron and caus'd 'em to take up Arms: But that ther might be ſome appearance of Reaſon, and for th greater Formality, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Ro* to demand Reſtitution. *Hoſtilius* preſently perceiv the Deſign, and well knowing that they who fir refus'd Satisfaction, wou'd bear the greateſt blam by nobly treating the Ambaſſadors, cunningly de lay'd giving Anſwer, till he could ſend to deman Reſtitution at *Alba*. His Ambaſſadors receiv'd ſharp Repulſe from *Cluilius* at *Alba*, upon notic whereof, *Hoſtilius* gave Audience to the *Alban* Am baſſadors, telling them, *How he had receiv'd ſuch Anſwer from* Alba *as argu'd the League broken*; where upon he proclaim'd a juſt and neceſſary War again the *Albans*, which he wou'd carry on to the utmo Both Parties made all poſſible Preparations, an drew out their Forces about five Miles from *Rom* to a Place afterwards call'd *Cluilius Ditch*; when when they expected to have decided the Quarre *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent, but whether b a natural or violent Death, is uncertain. In his Plac was choſen *Metius Fuffetius*, a Perſon who had n other Qualifications to recommend him to this O fice, beſides his turbulent Spirit, and his being great an Incendiary as his Predeceſſor.

At the ſame time the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, wh in *Romulus*'s Days had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, an in *Numa*'s Reign were preparing and ſeeking for a Opportunity to ſhake off their Yoke, had no drawn their Forces together at *Fidenæ*, with deſig to fall upon both *Romans* and *Albans*, after they ha weaken'd themſelves in Battel. The News of the Preparations at firſt put the Armies to a ſtand, an made 'em both decline fighting for a while; till laſt *Fuffetius* fearing theſe People, and *Hoſtilius* d

firin

ring to puniſh 'em, came both to a ſort of an Ac-
ommodation; agreeing, *That for the Safety of both Nations, the Quarrel ſhould be decided by a Combat of three Perſons on each ſide, and the Conquering Party ſhould obtain the Pre-eminence and Command over the other.* Theſe Propoſals were no ſooner ratify'd, but many valiant Perſons, ambitious of the Honour of ſerving their Country, offer'd themſelves to be the Combatants, but cou'd not be accepted of, others being before agreed upon: For it hapen'd that one *Segvius* of *Alba* had formerly two Daughters, one marry'd to *Curiatius* an *Alban*, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman*, who being both with Child at the ſame time, were deliver'd of three Sons at a Birth. Now, theſe two Ternions of Brothers were this great Combat committed, as being of equal Years, Strength, and Courage; and all Matters of Conſanguinity and private Affections diſpenc'd withal.

Now was the Fate of *Rome* to be decided by ſix Perſons only, which rais'd all Peoples Hopes and Fears to a more than ordinary pitch: The Liſts were prepar'd between the two Armies, Judges were appointed, and the Combat perform'd with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, and with as much Courage and Reſolution on both ſides. The *Curiatii* were in ſhort time all wounded; but two of the *Horatii* were ſlain downright, and the third, unhurt, left to oppoſe three Adverſaries. At this the *Albans* gave a great Shout; but he, not the leaſt daunted, cunningly retreated as tho' he had wholly fled, and drawing 'em out ſeverally, ſo as to have but one againſt him at once, he ſlew them all, and *Rome* became Conqueror. At his return to the City, his Siſter met him with many provoking and reproachful Words, for imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Coſin-Germains, whereof one was contracted to her; upon which *Horatius*, elevated with the Honour of his Conqueſt, and tranſported with the

Love

Love of his Country, ſlew her upon the Spot. Fo which Fact, when he was accus'd, *Hoſtilius* avoide giving Judgment himſelf, but hereupon create *Duumviri.* thoſe Officers call'd *Duumviri,* for Capital Puniſh ments, and they condemn'd him: But there lyin an Appeal from theſe Officers to the People, the gave him his Life at the Requeſt of his Father, wh eſteem'd it as a great and Heroick Act, and gave hi Daughter ignominious Burial, *for a dreadful Exam ple to all who preferr'd Private Reſpect before the Public Good.* *Hoſtilius* dealt very gently with the *Albans,* but notwithſtanding, for the Advantages gain'd ove them, had a Triumph.

U. C. 85. II. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes,* finding that the were like to be call'd to an Account for their trea cherous Practices, now broke into open Rebellion and *Fuffetius* enrag'd at the Event of the late Com bat, and hoping to free himſelf from the *Roma* Power, privately encourag'd 'em with large Pro miſes of Aſſiſtance if they ſtood in need of it. Th *Romans* and *Albans* now made up one Army, an were advancing towards the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* but, upon their nigh approach, *Fuffetius,* who ha laid all his Deſigns before-hand, drew off all th *Alban* Troops on one ſide, with a Reſolution o joining with the prevailing Party. The *Romans,* ap prehending the danger of their Separation, an fearing ſome Treachery, were greatly diſcourag at it; but *Hoſtilius,* tho' ſatisfy'd of the Villany, im mediately gave it out as publickly as he cou'd, *Th it was done by his Order, and was all a Stratagem to ſur prize the Enemy:* At this unexpected Report the *Fide nates* and their Companions were quite diſhearten'd upon ſuſpicion of their Friends Infidelity, and, i a ſhort time were put to the Rout by the *Romans* for which Victory *Hoſtilius* triumph'd a ſecond time After the Battel, *Fuffetius* join'd with the *Roma* again

gain, like one that had done nothing amiſs; but *Hoſtilius*, aſſembling the whole Body of the *Albans*, nd then laying before them all his treacherous ractices and Villanous Deſigns, caus'd him to be orn in pieces by Horſes; having before-hand ſent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who utterly demoliſh'd that ity, and tranſplanted the Inhabitants to *Rome*. hus fell the City of *Alba*, once famous for its iches and Number of Inhabitants, after it had ouriſhed 487 Years.

Rome grew much in Strength, Riches and Granur out of the Ruines of *Alba*; Mount *Cælius* being ppointed for the Inhabitants that came from nence; and the King allowing 'em all the *Roman* rivileges. He choſe the Nobility of the *Albans* into ne *Senate*, particularly the *Tullii*, *Servilii*, *Quintii*, *Geanii*, *Curiatii*, and the *Clelii*; and that he might out f thoſe new People make ſome Addition to the trength of every Order, he choſe ten Troops of Horſe out of the *Albans*. In confidence of this his trength, after an intire Reduction of the *Fidenates*, e declar'd War againſt the *Sabines*, who before had *U. C.* ommitted ſeveral Robberies upon the *Romans* that 88. raded with 'em. He met 'em at the Wood call'd *Malitioſa Sylva*, where, eſpecially by the help of his Horſe, who broke all their Ranks, after a ſhort Engagement, he entirely defeated 'em, forcing 'em to eg Peace; over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph. The *Latines* were not yet quiet, refuſing to ay Obedience to the *Romans*, which occaſion'd ſeeral Conteſts; but this War was manag'd with reat Moderation, no Battel being fought, no Town aken or plunder'd beſides *Medallia*, which *Hoſtilius* uniſh'd for an Example, becauſe it had receiv'd a *Roman* Colony in *Romulus*'s time.

This War laſted moſt of the reſt of his days, and n the latter end of his Reign, *Rome* was much infected with Plagues and Famines, and as much frighten'd

frighten'd with Prodigies. Then *Hoſtilius* began t think of bringing in the Religious Ceremonies o *Numa*, which he had all this time took little notic of; but ſoon after he died, after a Reign of Years; ſome ſay by Lightning, with his whole Fa mily, tho' more probably by ſome treaſonable Pra ctices. In this Reign, the 300 *Celeres* were again re aſſum'd, which had been diſ-us'd in the laſt; an the City was very much increas'd, tho' the Domi nions were little different from thoſe in *Romulus* Days, only they ſeem'd to have a ſurer Footing i ſome places than before.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Hoſtilius, *to the Death of* Ancus Marcius, *the Fourth King o* Rome.

Containing the Space of 24 *Years.*

U. C. 115. I. AFter the Death of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the Sta fell into an *Inter-regnum*, as formerly; an in a ſhort time, *Ancus Marcius* was made King b the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, and was confirm'd ſo b the People. He had his Surname *Ancus* from h *crooked* Arm, which he cou'd not ſtretch out i length, as *Feſtus* has it: He was Grand-ſon to *Num* the ſecond King of *Rome*, by *Pompilia* his Daughte and *Marcius* his Kinſman, who was the Son of th *Marcius* who had perſuaded *Numa* to accept of t Kingdom, and after *Numa*'s Death had kill'd him ſelf becauſe he did not ſucceed him. This Princ was much of the ſame Temper with his Grand-f ther *Numa*, and conſidering that much of the R ligion, and many of the Ceremonies had been neg lected in the laſt Reign, he ſet himſelf to reſto the

hem to their former Uſe. For that Reaſon he in-
nuated to the People, that the Diſeaſes, Peſtilence,
nd other innumerable Calamities which had lately
efallen the City, together with the diſaſterous End
f *Hoſtilius*, proceeded from want of Devotion, and
Neglect of their Gods. He highly commended the
Orders and Inſtitutions of *Numa*, and wou'd be of-
en ſhewing the great Bleſſings of the State, and
ow much it flouriſh'd under that happy Reign;
dviſing his Subjects to return to their Husbandry
nd more peaceable Employments, and to lay aſide
l ſorts of Violence, and all Profit that ariſes from
War and Bloodſhed.

The State thus ſettl'd, he expected, as his Grand- *U. C.*
ther had done, to paſs his time free from all Wars 116.
nd Troubles; but he ſoon found his Deſigns croſs'd,
nd was compell'd to be a Warrior againſt his Will,
nd was ſcarce ever free from publick Perils and
roubles. He had ſcarce began his Reign, and mo-
ll'd the Common-wealth, when the *Latines* con-
mning him as a ſluggiſh Prince, and unfit for Mi-
ary Affairs, made Incurſions into the *Roman* Ter-
tories. Upon which, he was oblig'd to make all
ceſſary Preparations for a War, proclaiming it
cording to the *Ceremonies* appointed by his Grand-
ther *Numa*. Firſt, an Ambaſſador was ſent to the
rontiers of the Agreſſor's Country, who in a
oollen Shaſh, and a peculiar Dreſs, and likewiſe
a ſolemn Form of Speech, demanded Satisfacti-
; which not being granted in 33 Days, after a
onſultation with the *Senate*, the *Feciales* or *Heraulds* *Feciales.*
ere immediately ſent in their proper Habits, with
velins headed with Iron, or all bloody and burnt
the end; where in the preſence of three young
en at leaſt, they in the Name of the Gods and
ople of *Rome*, ſolemnly proclaim'd War with that
ountry, and then threw their Javelins into their
nfines. This Cuſtom was brought in by *Numa*,
the

the Rules whereof were taken from the *Æqui*
a very ancient People.

Ancus began this War with good Succeſs, and
took *Politorium* by Storm, a Town of the *Latines*,
or 15 Miles South-Eaſt of *Rome*; the Inhabitant
which, according to the uſual Cuſtom, he tra
planted to *Rome*, allowing them the Privileges
Free Citizens. And whereas the old *Romans* in
bited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and
Albans the *Cælian*, he granted the *Aventine* Hill
the *Latines* to poſſeſs; the number of whom w
encreaſed, upon the ſubduing of *Tellene* and *Fica*
two *Latine* Towns nigh *Politorium*, which he t
ſoon after. He in a little time likewiſe took *Me*
lia, a Place of conſiderable Strength, and alſo *Po*
rium again; for the *Latines* finding it empty,
poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, which made *Ancus* inti
demoliſh it. The *Latines*, inrag'd at their Lo
made greater Preparations for the next Campaig
but, at ſeveral times, he ruin'd their Deſigns, b
U. C. their united Forces, forc'd 'em to beg Peace,
117. obtain'd a Triumph over 'em. Not long after
ſubdu'd the *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and the *Volſci*, who
fallen out with him; and likewiſe ſuch of the
bines, who, not having felt the Strength of *R*
had ſorely repin'd at the exceeding Growth of
U. C. upſtart City. Theſe latter he overthrew again,
120. obtain'd over them a ſecond Triumph.

II. *Ancus* did not only perform many great
abroad, but alſo did many noble Works at ho
Firſt, upon the Account of the Succeſs of his A
he rebuilt the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* aft
more ſtately and magnificent manner than be
He fortify'd the Hill *Janiculum*, on the other ſi
the River *Tiber*, for the greater ſtrengthning of
City, and to prevent its being a Refuge for Enem
uniting it to the City with a Wooden Bridge

hat River. He likewiſe made a large Ditch call'd *Foſſa Quiritium*, which was no ſmall Defence againſt uch as came from the Plains. And now, the City aving receiv'd a vaſt Increaſe, ſeeing that ſuch Mulitudes of People of all ſorts cou'd not but produce nany Criminals, he built a large Priſon for Maleactors in the Heart of the City, juſt facing the *Fo-um*, to be a Terror to their growing Boldneſs. He id not only enlarge the *Pomærium* of the City, but kewiſe its Dominions; for having taken from the *eientes* the *Mæſian* Foreſt, his Territories reach'd to he Sea, upon which, at the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, he built a Town call'd *Oſtia*, nigh 10 Miles outh of *Rome*, to ſecure the Advantages of Trade o his Subjects; for thither Commodities being rought by Ships, were in leſſer Veſſels convey'd p the *Tiber* to this City; and about this Town, nany Salt-pits were made. U. C. 127.

This Prince, as well as his Predeceſſors, was very eady and careful to encourage Strangers; and by eaſon of the frequent advancement of ſuch, and he great Privileges they receiv'd, many came daily ither, and often ſuch as were of good Note. Among heſe, *Lucumon* an *Hetrurian* was one, a Perſon of reat Accompliſhments as well as large Poſſeſſions, who came hither from *Tarquinia* in *Hetruria*, with is Wife *Tanaquil*, and ſeveral Followers. He was on to *Demaratus*, a rich Merchant of *Corinth*, who ad left his Country upon the account of the Troules at that time, and ſettl'd in *Tarquinia*, where narrying a noble Matron, he had this Son, beſides nother who died Childleſs. *Lucumon* finding no ncouragement in his own Country, being the Son f a Foreigner, remov'd to *Rome*, where by his Hoitality and Bounty he ſoon became known to the ing; having now taken upon him the Name of *ucius*, adding that of *Tarquinius* from the Place of is Birth. He was honourably treated by *Ancus*, to

whom he generouſly offer'd his whole Patrimon for the Publick Good, and by that means obtain Freedom for himſelf and Followers, with Lan both for building and for Suſtenance. *Ancus* in little time choſe him into the *Senate*, for he w greatly eſteem'd by the King, and as much belov by the People; no Man being more hardy in Wa or more prudent in Counſel.

Ancus beſtow'd moſt of his latter time in inrich ing his Subjects, and improving the City, and at t end of 24 Years Reign he died; a Prince not inferi to any of his Predeceſſors, either for the Glory h gain'd in Peace or War. He left behind him tw Sons, both under Age, which he committed to th Guardianſhip of the foremention'd *Lucius Tarquini* as the fitteſt Perſon he cou'd employ in ſuch an O fice. The *Roman* Dominions were now increas beyond what they were in the laſt Reign, by a la ger Part of *Hetruria*, taken from the *Veientes*, and much better Footing in *Latium*.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Ancus Marcius, *to th Death of* Tarquinius Priſcus, *the Fift King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 38 *Years.*

U. C. 128. I. *Ancus* being dead, the *Senate* receiv'd Pow from the People, to order the Affairs of th Common-wealth, and created certain *Inter-reges*, formerly. In this ſhort *Inter-regnum*, *Tarquin* was e tremely buſie about the Election of a King, havin great hopes of it himſelf: Therefore to remove a Obſtacles to his Deſigns, he ſent *Ancus*'s two Son out a Hunting, the eldeſt being then nigh 14 Yea

Age, and assembling the People, he made a plau-
le Speech to 'em, wherein he plainly begg'd the
ngdom, urging the Examples of *Tatius* and *Numa*;
first an Enemy as well as a Stranger, and the second
olly unaquainted with the City; whereas he himself
as so great a Friend to the City, that he had spent all his
ches upon it; and so well acquainted with it, that he
d been train'd up several Years both in Civil and Mili-
y Affairs, under their King. Then he cunningly in-
uated his past Services, and insisting more than
dinary upon his Liberality, he obtain'd the King-
m, being the first who obtain'd it by his own am-
ious seeking. At the beginning of his Reign, the
tter to gain the Love of the Common People, he
ose out 100 of the *Plebeians*, who for Valour or
isdom were most Eminent, and added them to
e *Senate*, which made up the Number 300;
ose of *Romulus*'s Creation being call'd *Patres Con-*
ipti, these were call'd *Patres minorum Gentium*; *Patres minorum Gentium.*
at is, *Senators of a lower Rank.* He likewise en-
eas'd the Number of *Vestal* Virgins from four to se-
n; but *Plutarch* says there were but two before.

His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he *U. C.*
ok several Towns, among the rest *Collatia*, a Place 139.
e Miles North-East of *Rome*; over which he
ac'd his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius* for Governor,
e *Posthumus* Issue of his Brother, surnam'd *Egerius*,
om his want of Patrimony, and *Collatinus* from the
ace, which Surname continu'd to his Posterity.
otwithstanding the *Latines* great Supplies from *He-*
ria, he soon forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and then
rn'd his Arms against the *Sabines*, who had again
en up against *Rome*. Both Armies met upon the
nks of *Anio*, where the *Romans* made use of a
ratagem, by sending a Party of Men to burn a
eat heap of Wood that lay by the River-side, and
throw it in; which being driven forwards by
e Wind, much of the flaming Wood got hold on

the Wood of the Bridge, and ſet it on Fire. Th
not only terrify'd the *Sabines* while they were eng
ging, but when they were routed, hinder'd the
Flight, their Bridge being burnt down; and ther
fore many of 'em, tho' they eſcap'd the Sword, p
riſh'd in the Water; whoſe floating Arms being ca
ried down the *Tiber* to *Rome*, diſcover'd the Victo
there, almoſt before the News cou'd be carry'
Tarquin proceeded to march into the *Sabine* Terri
ries, where the *Sabines*, tho' with ſmall Hopes, m
him with an undiſciplin'd Army; and being d
feated a ſecond time, they were forc'd to beg Peac
U. C. Over the *Sabines Tarquin* obtain'd his firſt Triumph
143. Soon after the *Sabine*-War was finiſh'd, all *Her*
ria (or rather the neighbouring Parts) combin
againſt him, upon the Account of his detainin
ſome Priſoners of theirs whom he had taken amo
the *Sabines*. They had made a Law among the
ſelves, *That whatever Town refus'd to join againſt t*
Romans, *ſhou'd not be accounted of their Body*; and th
ſoon after poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Fidenæ*, a *Rom*
Colony. But he was ſo ſucceſsful againſt 'em, as
overthrow 'em in ſeveral Battels, and upon his pr
paring for another Campaign, they were humbl
and to purchaſe Peace, they own'd him for th
Prince; and, in tokens of Allegiance, ſent him
the Enſigns of Sovereignty which their Kings we
uſually adorn'd with: Theſe were, *a Crown of G*
an Ivory Chair, a Scepter with an Eagle on the Top,
Purple Coat wrought with Gold, and a Purple Go
pink'd, almoſt like the Robes of the *Perſian* and
dian Kings, only it was not four-ſquare, but of
ſemi-circular Figure. From hence alſo came t
Robes and Coats us'd by the *Augurs* and *Herald*
with many of their Ornaments us'd in *Rome* aft
wards; the *Axes* they had before, tho' now th
U. C. receiv'd 'em again. Over theſe People *Tarquin* t
153. umph'd a ſecond time. This War finiſh'd, whi
co

ntinu'd nine Years, he fell a ſecond time upon e *Sabines*, who now alone contended with the *mans* for Superiority, over whom he obtain'd a rd Triumph; and providing for another Expe- ion, they yielded, whom he receiv'd on the ſame erms with the *Hetrurians*.

II. *Tarquin* was no leſs mindful of ſtrengthning e City at home, than of enlarging his Dominions road; for when he found leiſure, he built the alls of the City, which before were patch'd up haſte, with large ſquare Stone, each conſiſting of Load Weight. Then he took care of the other blick Buildings of the City, adorning the *Forum* th lofty *Portico's*, *Galleries*, and *Shops*, being a ince much delighted with ſtately Buildings and ble Sights. He likewiſe made many *Cloacæ* or *Cloacæ.* *mmon-Sewers*, to drain the City, and carry the lth of it into the *Tiber*; a Work of ſuch vaſt harge and Labour, that when they were after- rds ſtopp'd, the *Cenſors* ſpent 1000 Talents only clear 'em; a Work likewiſe ſo admirable, that *ionyſius* thinks, that from the Magnificence of theſe well as their *Aquæducts* and *Highways*, the Gran- ur of the *Roman* Empire appear'd. In the *Circus axiimus*, that vaſt Place for Games and Exerciſes, tween the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills, he caus'd ats to be rais'd for the Spectators, with great Skill d Charge; and likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd all their aces according to their ſeveral Ranks and Digni- s. In the *Sabine* War he vow'd a Temple to *Ju- er*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, if he got the Victory; for at reaſon afterwards he, with wonderful Coſt, le- ll'd the Rock on the *Capitoline*, and form'd a Plat r building it, but liv'd not to go on with it any fur- er; and this was the beginning of the *Capitol*.

Tarquin had deſign'd after theſe things, to have ded three Centuries of the *Celeres*, to thoſe three

inſtituted by *Romulus*, but was forbidden by *A* *Nævius* to alter the Conſtitutions of that Kin therefore without creating of new *Centuries*, doubled the Number of the former. This *Næ* was the moſt famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever kne and *Tarquin* one time, to try him, ask'd him, *If w he had in his Thought might be done*; he anſwering the Affirmative, *Tarquin* jeeringly told him, *He thou of cutting a Whetſtone with a Razor*; *Nævius* bad ſtrike hard, and he cut it through. This much hanc'd the Reputation of *Augury*, eſpecially of *vius*'s Skill therein; but his being ſuddenly mi ſoon after, was a great prejudice to *Tarquin*: the two Sons of *Ancus Marcius* grudging him th Father's Throne, accus'd him to the People of Death of this *Augur*; but his Son-in-law anſwe their Objections, and clear'd him of that Scan Miſſing their Deſign, they pretended Repentan and were eaſily receiv'd into Favour: But th Years after, they diſguis'd ſeveral of their Com nions like Shepherds, and appearing in Court, p tended a Quarrel, and demanded Juſtice of King. *Tarquin* appearing, they ſet upon him, kill'd him; but were ſoon caught, and recei their juſt Reward.

Thus fell *Lucius Tarquinius*, for diſtinction ſ nam'd *Priſcus*, after the laſt *Tarquin* had obtai the Kingdom, in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, ter he had reign'd 38 Years, and done many great Services to the Common-wealth. The *man* Greatneſs and Magnificence began to app much more in this Reign, than in the former; this King was the firſt that ever Triumph'd i Chariot: Likewiſe, the *Roman* Dominions w much increas'd in this Reign, by a larger Author in the *Sabines* Country, and by ſome conſidera Additions in *Hetruria* and *Latium*.

CHA

CHAP. VI.

rom the Death of Tarquinius Priſcus, *to the Death of* Servius Tullius, *the Sixth King of* Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 *Years.*

T*Arquinius Priſcus*, being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law ſucceeded him; which *Tul-* U. C. 176.
us was Son to *Ocriſia*, a conſiderable Woman, taken riſoner by *Tarquin* at *Corniculum*, a Town in *La-um*, and given to his Wife *Tanaquil*; where ſhe was eliver'd of *Tullius*, ſurnam'd *Servius*, in remem-rance of her Bondage, her Husband being ſlain at he taking of the Town. *Tullius* being an Infant n his Cradle, a Flame of Fire is ſaid to have ap-ear'd and encompaſs'd his Head; which rais'd reat Expectations in *Tanaquil*, a Woman much ſteem'd for ſuch kind of Knowledge. She brought er Husband to ſo good an Opinion of him, that he oth gave him Education, and in time made him is Son-in-law. When the King grew old, he ma-ag'd his Publick Affairs for him both abroad and t home, with that Valour, Prudence, and Integrity, hat he gain'd the higheſt Eſteem of all People. *Tarquinius* having no Sons, but only two Grand-ſons, oth Infants, *Tanaquil* much deſir'd that *Tullius* ſhou'd ucceed him, therefore ſhe kept his Death private or a while, pretending he was only dangeroully wounded, till *Tullius* had prevail'd with the People o baniſh the *Marcii*. Being thus ſecure of that Fa-ction, he carry'd out *Tarquin*, as newly dead, to be ury'd; and as Tutor or Guardian to the young Children, executed the Office of King; which *Ta-naquil*, out of the Window, had hold the People was er Husband's Will, when ſhe feign'd him ſtill

alive. The *Patritians* were much concern'd at thi
not knowing how to come to an Election, sinc
they perceiv'd the People wou'd not approve
their Choice, but wou'd be all for *Tullius*; so the
thought it better to let him reign in an unlawf
Manner, that they might ever have a just Preten
againſt him, than by ſtirring to procure him a leg
Title.

Tullius diſcovering all their Deſigns and Practice
immediately aſſembl'd the People in the *Forum*
where appearing with his Mother, Mother-in-law
the two Children, and all his Kindred, in dee
Mourning, and all the utmoſt Signs of Sorrow, h
ſhew'd the People *how ſad and lamentable his Conditi
was, thro' the Contrivances of the* Patritians *again
him, which he had no otherwiſe deſerv'd, than by his go
Services to his Country, That they had deſign'd to rec
the* Marcii, *who had treaſonably murder'd* Tarquin
*and to expoſe the Poſterity of him whoſe Memory ought
be ſo precious to 'em, as well as himſelf, to the ſame Cr
elty: But if it was the Pleaſure of the People, he wou
freely give up all Pretenſions; and, rather than offe
them, undergo the ſevereſt Hardſhips.* A great Clamou
immediately aroſe, mix'd with the Prayers an
Tears of thoſe who beſought him to retain the Go
vernment; and ſome, who were provided before
hand, began to cry out, *He was to be choſen King
and the* Curiæ *were to be call'd to the Vote*; which thin
was inſtantly reſolv'd by the Multitude. He thank
'em very heartily for being mindful of the Benefi
receiv'd from him, and promiſed to pay their Debt
and divide the Publick Lands among ſuch as want
ed, if they would elect him King; and thereupo
he appointed a Day for the Aſſembly. At the *Co
mitia Curiata* he was choſen King by the Votes o
'em all, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition of the Senate,
who refus'd at laſt to confirm the Choice, as thei
Cuſtom was.

II. No

II. Not long after his Settlement, according to Promiſe, he divided the Publick Lands among poorer ſort; and in the *Curiata Comitia* preferr'd y ſeveral Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. very much enlarg'd the City, taking in three lls to the four former, namely, the *Quirinal*, the *minal*, and the *Eſquiline*; on the latter of which he velt himſelf, and compaſs'd the whole Seven with ſtately Wall: Some ſay the Walls were never exnded further, tho' vaſt Suburbs were afterwards ded. After this, he divided the City into four rts, and inſtead of three, made four *Tribes*, which call'd by the Names of *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, d *Eſquilina*. As *Romulus*, according to their ats and Communions in Sacrifices, diſtinguiſh'd e People into *Tribes* and *Curiæ*; ſo *Tullius*, accordg to their Eſtates and Riches, diſtinguiſh'd 'em in- ſix *Ranks* call'd *Claſſes*. His principal Deſign was know how many were fit to bear Arms, and at Treaſure might be ſupply'd for Wars and her Uſes. Theſe *Claſſes* were each divided into *nturies* (the Word here ſignifying ſuch a particular viſion, and not 100 Perſons) which made up 193 all. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 0000 *Aſſes* (each anſwering to *ob. q.* of our Moy) and contain'd 98 *Centuries*, the *Equites* or *Knights* ing reckon'd in: The ſecond valu'd at 75000 *Aſ*, containing 22 *Centuries*, taking in *Artificers*; the ird at 50000 *Aſſes*, containing likewiſe 22 *Centus*; the fourth at 25000 *Aſſes*, containing 20 *Cenries*; the fifth at 11000 *Aſſes*, containing 30 *Cenries*; and the ſixth conſiſted of the reſt of the poorer Sort and Multitude, excepting Servants and aves, which made up but one *Century*.

U. C. 177.

Claſſes.

Centuries.

The conſtant way of levying Men and Money, as, for the future, according to theſe *Centuries*, each *ntury* ſuch a quantity; ſo that the middle Rank having

Cenſus.

having fewer *Centuries*, and yet more Persons th the richer, went to War by turns, and paid but l tle Tribute; and the poorer sort scarce bore a Share at all. This seem'd very just to him, that th who were most concern'd shou'd take most Pai and bear the greatest Charge; the *Romans* at t time maintaining themselves in the Wars witho any Pay from the Publick. But to the richer so who sustain'd most of the Charge and Danger, t King made a sufficient Recompence, by giving e much the larger Authority in the Governme which he politickly brought about this way: Fo merly the Matters of the greatest Concern, name *The Creation of all Magistrates, making or repealing Laws*, and *decreeing of Peace and War*, were all vot in the *Comitia Curiata*; where every particular a private Person having an equal Vote, the *Plebei* being most numerous, had in a manner the wh Power in their hands. But *Tullius*, upon these a the like Occasions, assembl'd the People accordi to their *Centuries*, which were call'd *Comitia Centu ta*, where the *Plebeians* must of necessity be out- ted, having little more than the Shadow of Auth rity; which they, for many Years, were sufficie ly satisfy'd withal; either for that they perce not the Design, or rather, because they were the by freed from the greatest part of the Charg Troubles, and Dangers of the Publick.

Comitia Centuriata.

After the *Census* or Tax, *Tullius* first instituted *Lustrum* to be celebrated, so call'd *à luendo*, fr Paying. On a certain day after the *Valuation* or C sus, he ordain'd all the Citizens to meet in the C pus *Marcius*, all in Armour, each Man in his prop *Class* and *Century*; where, by solemn Sacrifices, City was *Expiated* or *Lustrated*. This great Solemn was call'd *Solitaurilia*, or rather *Suovetaurilia*, beca a Hog, a Sheep, and an Ox were there sacrifi These things perform'd, the *Lustrum* was finish

Lustrum. *U. C.* 187.

which

which, becauſe of the continual Change of Men's Eſtates, he order'd ſhou'd be reiterated every five Years; ſo that the old and proper *Luſtrum* contain'd five Years compleat, which was as often as this *Tax* of *Valuation*, call'd *Cenſus*, was made; tho' afterwards the *Julian Luſtrum* contain'd but four. *Tullius* held the *Luſtrum* four times in his Reign, and at the firſt were found 84700 free Citizens; but, to encreaſe their Number, he brought in the Cuſtom of making Slaves free of the Common-wealth, either for their Money or their Deſerts, who being *Manumitted*, he diſtributed into the four *Tribes* of the City. *Slaves*, as was hinted before, had never any Vote in the Government, and theſe were either made, or born ſo; the former ſort were taken in War, thence properly call'd *Mancipia*; and the latter ſort came of Parents, who were ſuch, or of the Mother only. *Mancipia.*

Beſides the Diviſion of the City it ſelf, this Prince took an extraordinary Care about the *Roman* Dominions, dividing the whole Territory into 26 Parts, which he likewiſe call'd by the Name of *Tribes*; and theſe he again diſtinguiſh'd into their ſeveral *Pagi*, appointed for 'em their reſpective Officers and Places of Worſhip, as *Numa* had done when the Dominions were much ſmaller. In his way of judging of Controverſies, he gave away much of the Kingly Prerogative; for whereas the former Princes call'd before themſelves all Controverſies, and took cognizance of Crimes committed againſt private Perſons, as well as the publick, he ſeparated their Cauſes, making himſelf Judge only of ſuch as reſpected the Common-wealth, referring the Quarrels of particular Perſons to others, to whom he preſcrib'd Laws and Rules to go by; and if any Controverſy aroſe between particular Towns, it was to be decided by the Judgment of others. After he had thus order'd the Common-wealth, he caus'd the *Latines* to build a Temple to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine* Hill, at which

which Place they ſhould meet and feaſt every Ye
and ſo preſerve themſelves as one Body Politick
Unity and Concord. To all theſe things we ma
add, that he was the firſt who coin'd Money in *Ro*
ſtamping it with the Image of a Sheep, whence
Pecunia. had the Name of *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* b
fore this time us'd it in a rude *Lump* or *Maſs*.

III. At the ſame time that *Tullius* was ſettling an
ordering the Affairs of the Common-wealth
home, he was often employ'd in many and conſid
rable Wars abroad: For the *Hetrurians* looking upo
him as an obſcure Man, and a private Perſon, r
fus'd to pay him Obedience, and renounc'd th
League made with his Predeceſſor *Tarquin*. He ha
Wars with 'em for 20 Years ſucceſſively, overthre
'em in many Battles, and triumph'd over 'em thr
ſeveral times; the firſt time in the Year 182, th
ſecond in 186, and the third time in 188. And
laſt he ſo weaken'd and harraſs'd them, that the
were willing to beg Peace of him, which he grante
'em upon the ſame Terms that *Tarquin* before ha
impoſs'd upon 'em; only from three of the twel
Nations, namely, the *Veientes*, the *Cæretanes*, and th
Tarquinii, which had been Principals in the Revo
he took part of their Lands, and divided 'em amon
ſuch as were lately made free of *Rome*. At the
niſhing of theſe Wars, he built two Temples, bo
dedicated to *Fortune*, one to *Fortuna Bona*, and the
ther to *Fortuna Virilis*. In the latter end of his Reig
he deſign'd to have laid down his Office, and reſtor
abſolute Liberty, with the Care of the Commo
wealth to the People, and was preparing a Mod
for that purpoſe, but liv'd not to perform it; for be
ing old, and not far from the natural Period of h
Life, he was ſlain by his Daughter and Son-in-law
after this manner.

Tullius had two Daughters, whom he marry'd t
Tar

rquin's Grandſons, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns Tar-inius.* The firſt, of a proud *tyrannical* Nature, had very modeſt good Wife; and the laſt, of a mild eet Temper, had a haughty wicked Woman. *Lu-s* inrag'd at *Tullius* for poſſeſſing his Grandfather's hrone, and finding his Brother's Wife of a fiery emper, and rather more cruel than himſelf, agreed th her to change Husbands; both promiſing to ſpatch their Conſorts, which they ſoon effected, d were marry'd together. After this, they reſolv'd e utter Ruine of the King, raiſing what Factions ey cou'd againſt him, alledging his illegal Title, en claim'd the Crown as Heirs to *Tarquin.* But *llius* by his great Modeſty and prudent Manage-ent, defeated all their Deſigns, and came off with eat Honour, both with the *Senate* and the People; hich brought *Lucius* to a feign'd Repentance on ſide, and that produc'd a real Reconciliation on e King's. *Lucius*, cover'd with this Diſguiſe, took Opportunity one Day, when moſt of the People ere out of the City, to go to the *Senate-houſe*, with e Robes and Royal Enſigns, as King; and getting gether ſuch of the Fathers as were his ſpecial iends, he boldly took poſſeſſion of the King's hrone. *Tullius* unadviſedly with a few Fellowers ſten'd thither, and going to thruſt him out, *Lucius* rew him down the Stairs. The old Man, hardly covering his Spirits, was led homewards in great iſorder, when *Lucius*'s Wife coming to ſee the vent, ſaluted her Husband King, and adviſ'd him ſend after *Tullius*, and diſpatch him; which was mediately perform'd. In her Paſſage home, com-g to the place where the Body lay, weltring in lood, and as yet almoſt gaſping, her Charioteer od ſtill, ſtartl'd and amaz'd at the inhumane pectacle, not having room to paſs by it: Where-on ſhe in a Rage threw her Footſtool at his Head, nd in a barbarous manner forc'd him to drive her

over

over it; the Place which before was call'd *Cypr*
Vicus, was after this Act call'd *Sceleratus*.

This was the End of *Servius Tullius*, a Prince
eminent Juſtice and Moderation, after a proſpero
Reign of 44 Years; but the leſs pity'd upon the a
count of his undue admiſſion to the Crown, whic
made moſt of the *Patritians* eſpouſe his Succeſſo
Part; eſpecially ſince he was about altering the G
vernment, which wou'd have prov'd the Weaknin
if not the Ruine of their Authority. He left t
Roman Dominions in much the ſame Condition,
they were in the laſt Reign, only he got a larg
Footing in *Hetruria*.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Servius Tullius, *to t*
Baniſhment of Tarquinius Superbus, *t*
Seventh King of Rome, *which caus'd t*
Diſſolution of the Regal State.

Containing the Space of 25 Years.

U. C. 220. I. *Lucius Tarquinius* having barbarouſly murde
his Father-in-law, obtain'd the Kingdo
by meer Force and Violence; and by his Tyranni
and Imperious Carriage, ſoon got the Surname
Superbus, as that of *Priſcus*, for diſtinction ſake, w
given to his Grandfather. He wou'd not permit t
King's Body to be publickly interr'd, leſt the Peop
ſhou'd riſe and cauſe ſome dangerous Diſturbanc
he alledging, *That* Romulus *dy'd without Burial.* H
murder'd ſuch as he ſuſpected to be of *Tullius*'s F
ction; and fearing the natural Conſequences of h
Tyranny, he kept a ſtronger Guard than ordina
about his Perſon. All Controverſies whatſoever h
decided himſelf, aſſiſted by his intimate Friend
a

d executed, baniſh'd, and fin'd all at his own easure. He endeavour'd to eſtabliſh his Tyranny th the more Security, by great Alliances, marry- his Daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, the greateſt an among the *Latines*, being deſcended from *Tele- us* the Son of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*; and by his falſe cuſations and a cunning Device, caus'd 'em to ne *Turnus Hardonius*, who had diſcover'd to 'em Baſeneſs and Villany. He neither conſider'd the nſent of the *Senate* or *People*; but much dimi- h'd the Authority of the former, by the Murder many of the higher Rank, whoſe Wealth he z'd on for his own uſe, reſolving to chuſe no more their Places, that their Power might decreaſe in- ſibly, and in time be worn out.

Amongſt thoſe whom he murder'd for their E- tes, *Marcus Junius* was one; a moſt eminent Man ong the *Romans*, deſcended from the Companions *Æneas*, and marry'd to *Tarquina*, Daughter to *quinius Priſcus*, by whom he had *Lucius Junius*. is *Lucius* was nobly Educated, and had an admi- le Wit and Knowledge, with a profound Judg- nt and Underſtanding; but after *Tarquin* had vily murder'd his Father and his eldeſt Brother, better to ſave himſelf, and revenge his Father, counterfeited himſelf a Fool, and thence had the name of *Brutus*. *Tarquin* thinking his Folly real, pis'd the Man; and having poſſeſs'd himſelf of Eſtate, kept him as an Ideot in his Houſe, ſuffer- him to converſe with his Children, not out of Reſpect as a Kinſman, but to make 'em Sport his ridiculous Words and Actions. It happen'd in time of a great Peſtilence, he ſent his two Sons, *us* and *Titus*, to conſult the Oracle, and with m *Brutus*, as a Companion for their Diverſion. e Sons were well pleas'd with his Company, and gh'd very heartily to ſee him offer a wooden ff to *Apollo*, wherein he had ſecretly convey'd Gold.

Gold. The young Men having executed their ther's Commands, enquir'd of the Oracle, *Whi them shou'd be Prince of* Rome? It was answer'd *who first shou'd kiss his Mother*; which the Sons understanding, agreed to do it both at their ret and reign jointly together. But *Brutus*, know the meaning of the Oracle, as soon as they ar at *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and k the Earth, which is the common Mother of all M After this, he ever made it his Business to find portunities of ruining the Tyrant, and restoring Liberties of *Rome*; all which he carry'd on profound Secresy and a wonderful Dissimulatio

II. *Tarquin* being a warlike Prince, first mar against the *Sabines*, who refus'd to pay him Ob ence, and soon reduc'd them to Submission; whom he obtain'd a Triumph. Soon after, he gan a War with the *Volsci*, a People bordering *Latium*, which continu'd with some little Inter sions above 200 Years: From these he took *Sa Pometia*, a considerable City about 26 Miles So East of *Rome*, where he found great Spoils and P der; and over them he obtain'd a second Triu Next, he fell upon *Gabii*, a City of great Note, or 11 Miles East of *Rome*, which had taken with *Suessa-Pometia*: He invested it, but met with great Difficulties, he caus'd his eldest Son *Sa* to counterfeit Desertion, upon pretence of ba rous Usage from his Father; who being honour receiv'd by the *Gabines*, by his cunning and ins ting Behaviour, got to be their Governor. A some time he sent to his Father to know what M sures to take; *Tarquin* took the Messenger into Garden, and, in imitation of *Thrasybulus* the *sian*, cut down the tallest Poppies before his M then dismiss'd him without any other Answer. *tus*, knowing the meaning of all that, put to d

U. C. 223.

U. C. 225.

he moſt principal Citizens, and eaſily betray'd the Place into his Father's hands. After this, *Tarquin* made a League with the *Æqui*, a neighbouring People between the *Volſci* and the *Sabines*, and renew'd that with the *Hetrurians*. U. C. 232.

Tarquin having gain'd great Riches and Spoils from *Sueſſa-Pometia*, reſolv'd to ſet about the Temple his Grandfather had deſign'd; and when he found ſome reſpite from War, he employ'd a great number of Workmen about it. At their digging to lay the Foundation, a Man's Head was found bleeding freſh, belonging to one *Tolus*, which gave the Name of *CAPITOL* to the Building. It was ſeated upon a high Crag or Rock on Mount *Capitoline*, which from *Romulus*'s time had been call'd *Mons Tarpeius*, and before that *Saturnius*. It was eight Acres in compaſs, 200 Foot long, and as many broad, wanting 15 Foot, its height being equal to its length; a moſt magnificent Building, dedicated to *Jupiter* in Chief, but containing three Temples within the ſame Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, all under the ſame Roof. It had a noble Front, looking towards the *South*, to the grand *Forum*, the moſt frequented Part of the whole City. It had alſo a ſtately Porch or Gallery, with three Rows of Pillars, each ſide having a double Row; and to this they aſcended by 100 Steps, with large Spaces between ſeveral of 'em. To carry on this great Work, *Tarquin* employ'd much of the Publick Money and Stock, and likewiſe the Labour of the Common People; but the Building was not finiſh'd till two Years after his Baniſhment. U. C. 240. *Capitol.*

The Building of the *Capitol* was not only counted a great Ornament to the City, in reſpect of Magnificence, but was likewiſe look'd upon as a very great Bleſſing upon the account of Religion: And in the ſame Reign another, as great in their Opinion, happened likewiſe to the *Romans*, which was this. A cer-

Sibyl's Books.

tain ſtrange Woman came to the King, offering t ſell him nine Books of the *Sibylline* Oracles. He r fuſing to buy 'em at her Rate, ſhe departed, an burning three of 'em, return'd, demanding as muc for the ſix remaining. Being laugh'd at for a Ma woman, ſhe again departed, and burning half 'em, return'd with the other three, ſtill asking much as at firſt. *Tarquin*, ſurpriz'd at the ſtrange neſs of the thing, immediately ſent for the *Augu* to know her meaning; who much blam'd him fo not buying the nine, and adviſ'd him to buy th three at the ſame rate. The Woman, after the Sal and Delivery, adviſing him to have a ſpecial care 'em, vaniſh'd, and was never after ſeen, as *Dionyſiu* relates the Story. *Tarquin* choſe two Men out the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allow'd tw Publick Servants; but afterwards, in the time the Common-wealth, they were kept with th greateſt Care imaginable, 15 of the moſt emine Perſons of the Nobility being choſen and appointe to keep 'em in a Stone-Cheſt, in a Vault under th *Capitol*; and theſe were exempted from all othe Burthens both Military and Civil; and for ther only it was lawful to look in 'em. Theſe Magi ſtrates from their Number were afterwards call *Quindecemviri*. Theſe Oracles were conſulted by th *Senate's* Decree in times of Seditions, Plagues, an any publick Calamities; and were kept here t they periſh'd in the burning of the *Capitol*.

Quindecemviri.

U. C. 244.

III. The People being ſo much employ'd for fou Years together about the Building of the *Capitol*, be gan to make ſome Complaints; but *Tarquin*, to ſa tisfie 'em, but eſpecially to recruit his own Coffer proclaim'd War againſt the *Rutili*, a People joinin to the *Latines*, the *Volſci*, and the Sea, pretendin they had receiv'd and entertain'd ſome *Roman* Exiles and upon that account he inveſted *Ardea*, their Me tropolis

opolis, a City 16 Miles *South-East* of *Rome.* While lay before this Place, his Son *Sextus*, with *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the Son of *Egerius Priſcus*'s Nephew, nd ſome of the principal Courtiers, were drinking gether in the Camp, where there hapned a Diſcourſe concerning their Wives, each Man praiſing s own to a very high degree, which occaſion'd a nd of a Quarrel. *Collatinus* told 'em, *It was in vain talk, when their Eyes might ſo ſoon convince 'em how uch his* Lucretia *excell'd the reſt, if they wou'd but immediately put it to a Tryal*; whereat they all cryd, *me on*: And being well heated with Wine, they ok horſe without delay, and poſted for *Rome*, om which Place they rod to *Collatia* to ſee *Lutia*, where coming late at Night, they found her, ot like the reſt of their Wives, ſpending her Time Eaſe and Idleneſs, but in the midſt of her Maids ard at work. Her Goodneſs and Modeſty, as well her Shape and Beauty, ſo charm'd 'em all, that ey unanimouſly gave her the Preference. Here *ollatinus* made a noble Entertainment for his Gueſts, nd the next Day return'd with 'em to the Camp.

Sextus, now inflam'd by *Lucretia*'s Beauty, and the ore by the Reputation of her fam'd Chaſtity, was ſolv'd to enjoy her upon any Terms; therefore, ithin few Days after, he went privately with one ervant to *Collatia*, where he was kindly entertain'd y her, and, without any Suſpicion, lodg'd in the ouſe. At Midnight he found means to convey imſelf into her Bed-hamber, approach'd her Bedde with his drawn Sword, and rudely laying his and on her Breaſt, threatned her with preſent eath, if ſhe offer'd to ſtir or ſpeak. The poor Lady frighted out of her Sleep, and ſeeing Death ſo igh, was in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; but *extus* at firſt, with all the Prayers and Intreaties, old her the Violence of his Paſſion, withal, endeaour'd to corrupt her with the glittering Promiſes.

of Empire and a Crown; but all in vain. At l
he told her, *If she wou'd not yield, he wou'd first k
her, then lay his own Slave dead by her side, and rep
it was for surprizing her in Adultery with him*; b
which means he obtain'd his End, and in the Mor
ing he departed. *Lucretia*, inrag'd at this barbaro
Usage, immediately sent for her Father from *Ro*
and her Husband from the Camp, desiring the
*to bring with them some particular and special Friend
for a most dreadful Mischief, and that of the vastest I
portance, had befall'n her.* With her Father *Lucreti*
came *Publius Valerius*, and with her Husband *Luci
Junius Brutus*, formerly mention'd; who findi
her in her Chamber, in a most lamentable and d
sperate Condition, she told 'em the whole Matte
and rejecting all Thoughts of Comfort, she mo
solemnly adjur'd 'em all, with the most powerf
Persuasions imaginable, *to revenge her Cause to the
most*, and immediately with her Knife, stabb'd h
self to the Heart, as the truest Instance she cou
give of her real Chastity.

The whole Company were stricken with a Mi
ture of Sadness and Amazement at the Greatnes
well as the Strangeness of the Act; but while th
were lamenting over the dead Body, *Brutus* cate
ing at this Opportunity, now threw off his lo
Disguise, giving them to understand, *how far di
rent he was from the Person they always took him f*
and further shew'd 'em most manifest Tokens
the greatness of his Spirit, and the depth of his P
licy. He told 'em, *That Tears and Lamentations co
never be heard, whilst Vengeance cry'd so loud*; thereu
on, in a great Rage, going to the Body, and dra
ing the bloody Knife from out the Wound, swo
by *Mars*, and all the Celestial Powers above, *Utte
to exterminate* Tarquin *with his impious Wife and Pr
geny, to prosecute them and all their Friends with the
most Rage of Fire and Sword, and never after to suf
i*

e Tarquins *or any other to reign in* Rome. Then he eliver'd the Knife to the reſt, who, all wondring ſo extraordinary a Change in *Brutus*, ſwore as he ad done; and turning their effeminate Sorrow to maſculine Fury, they reſolv'd to follow his Inructions, and extirpate Kingly Government. *Bru-s*, as ſoon as he cou'd, procur'd the Gates of the ity to be ſhut, that all might be kept ſecret from *arquin*, till ſuch time as the People might be aſmbled, the dead Body expos'd, and a Publick Dee for *Tarquin*'s Baniſhment procur'd.

The *Senate* being aſſembl'd, all ſhew'd their Wilngneſs to baniſh *Tarquin*, but at firſt had very difrent Opinions concerning the new-modelling of e Government, which probably might make it a dious buſineſs. *Brutus* repreſented to 'em the abolute neceſſity of a quick Diſpatch, and immediely preſcrib'd 'em a Form of Government; ſhewg them, *That before* Tarquin's *violating his own and s Predeceſſors* Oath, Rome *had been happy and famous, th for her Acts abroad, and her Conſtitutions at home; d that the* Regal Power *had at laſt been dangerous, d almoſt deſtructive to the Security of the State, and the afety of the People; and therefore was not to be truſted one Man's hands, but two were to be choſen who ſhou'd vern with equal Authority and Command. Then, beuſe Names alone were offenſive to many People, he ought that of* Kingdom *was to be left off, and the other* Common-wealth *to be aſſum'd; and, inſtead of the itle of* King *and* Monarch, *ſome more modeſt and poular was to be invented; as likewiſe were ſome of their* nſigns *to be laid aſide, and others to be retain'd. That e main and only thing to keep theſe Magiſtrates in order, as, to prevent their perpetual Power; and if they were* nnual, *after the manner of* Athens, *each might learn th how to be Subject, and how to Govern.* Laſtly, *That e Name of* King *might not be wholly loſt, the Title was be given to one who ſhou'd be call'd* Rex Sacrorum, *who*

Rex Sacrorum.

who having this Honour for Life, and Immunity fr Warfare, ſhou'd only concern himſelf with thoſe Religio Rites *which the King had Charge of before.* The pa culars of this Speech were all approv'd of by t *Senate*, who immediately iſſu'd out a Decree f the King's Baniſhment, in this Form, *That the Ta quinii ſhou'd be baniſh'd with all their Offspring, and t it ſhou'd be Capital for any one to ſpeak or act for th Return.*

Brutus having procur'd thus much, the *Comi* were immediately aſſembl'd by him, and the Bo of *Lucretia*, all diſmally bloody, brought, and there for a pitiful Spectacle to all the People. The *Brutus*, to their great Surprize, diſcover'd himſe telling 'em the Reaſons of his long and ſtrange D ſimulation, and the great occaſion of their preſe Meeting, withal ſhewing 'em the *Senate's* Decre Then he fell to enumerating all the ſeveral Crim and Villanies of *Tarquin*, particularly, *That he h poiſon'd his own Brother, ſtrangl'd his Wife, murder'd lawful Sovereign, and fill'd Ditches and Common Sew with the Bodies of the Nobility: That he came to Kingdom an Uſurper, and continu'd in it a Tyrant; be treacherous to his greateſt Friends, and barbarous to Mankind: That his three Sons were of a Temper as In lent and Tyrannical as himſelf, eſpecially the eldeſt, which they now had a ſad and doleful Inſtance before th Eyes. That ſince the King was abſent, and the* Patri ans *all reſolv'd, neither Men, Money, nor Foreign A ſhou'd be wanting to 'em, had they but Courage for the E terprize.* Urging withal, *That it was a ſhame to thi of Commanding the* Volſci, Sabines, *and Nations abro and be Slaves to others at home; and to maintain ſo m ny Wars to ſerve the ambitious Ends of a Tyrant, and undertake one for their own Liberty. And that as the Army at the Siege, their own Intereſts in all reſpe wou'd oblige 'em to join in what-ever was agreed upon the City.*

Th

The Multitude, tranſported with the Hopes of Liberty, and charm'd with the Perſon and graceful Behaviour of *Brutus*, with loud Acclamations gave their Aſſent, and immediately call'd for Arms. *Lucretius* was appointed *Inter-rex* for holding the *Comitia*, who ſtrait adjourn'd it to the *Campus Martius*, where Magiſtrates were elected in their Armour. There he nominated *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to exerciſe the *Regal Power*, as they before had agreed on among themſelves, and the *Centuries* confirm'd 'em by their Suffrages. In the mean time, *Tarquin* having heard ſomething of theſe Tranſactions, came riding in all haſte to the City, with his Sons, and ſome of his moſt truſty Friends, to prevent the Miſchiefs that threaten'd him; but finding the Gates juſt ſhut, and the Walls full of arm'd Men, in great Grief he return'd to the Camp. But *Brutus* foreſeeing his ſudden coming, had induſtriouſly got before him to the Army another way, and acquainted them with the Decree both of Senate and People, preſſing 'em hard to a Revolt. Immediately their Suffrages were call'd over according to their *Centuries*, and they unanimouſly agreed to do exactly as their Friends in the City had done; ſo that when *Tarquin* return'd, they refus'd to admit him. Thus Fruſtrated of his Hopes, he went to *Gabii*, or to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, now Grey-headed, having reign'd 25 Years. *Herminius* and *Horatius*, Chief Commanders of the Army, made a Truce with the Enemy for 5 Years, and raiſing the Siege before *Ardea*, return'd to *Rome* with all their Forces. *U. C.* 245.

IV. Such was the End of the *Regal State of Rome*, 245 Years after the Building of the City, in the firſt Year of the 68th *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 3496. 31 Years after the Ruine of the *Babylonian* Empire, and the Setting up of the *Perſian*, 179 before the beginning of the *Macedonian*, and 507 before our Saviour

Christ, occasion'd by a Man who knew neither how to govern according to the Laws, nor yet to reign against them. The *Roman* Dominions now contain'd most of Old *Latium*, with the greatest part of the *Sabines* Country, a considerable part of *Hetruria* particularly of the *Veientes*, *Cæretanes*, and *Tarquinii* besides some small parts of the *Volsci* and *Æqui*; being much about 40 Miles long, and 30 broad; a Spot of Ground not so large by a fourth part as either the Dukedoms of *Modena*, *Parma*, or *Mantua* and not much larger than the Territory of the Commonwealth of *Luca*; so that this was rightly term'd by Historians, the *Infancy of Rome*, especially since most of these Parts were both able and ready to revolt upon every little Occasion, as the *Romans* often found afterwards; so that it cost 'em many Years Trouble, and many hazardous Wars, before they cou'd wholly subdue 'em, and much enlarge their Dominions.

If we look upon the City it self at this time, we may find it increas'd after a far greater Proportion than formerly, and its large Extent, its numerous Inhabitants, and its magnificent Structures, were happy Fore-runners of its future Grandeur and Empire. And these, together with the wise Institution of its Prince, and the great Prudence and Gravity of its *Senate*, were the main Supporters and Preservers of it, in the midst of so many envious Neighbours, and powerful Enemies; tho' indeed the Inhabitants themselves were an extream rough and unpolish'd People, little acquainted with Knowledge and Learning, and far unlike their Successors in Skill and Conduct: Their Engagements were more like so many Tumults than real Battels where Obstinacy in Fighting generally supply'd the place of Discipline in War; only they had the good Fortune to deal with Neighbours who had more Barbarity and Ignorance than themselves. In short,

rt, what may truly be affirm'd of the Old *Romans*, hey were a People of moſt extraordinary Cou- e and Fierceneſs, a People of prodigious Hardi- and Auſterity of Life, a People of indefatigable uſtry, and wonderful Lovers of their Country; from theſe main Springs afterwards proceeded iy great and noble Actions.

efore the Concluſion of this firſt Book, to make *Roman Hiſtory* as clear and intelligible as poſſi- it may be convenient to give a hint of the ſe- l Countries the *Romans* afterwards became Ma- s of. Firſt *Gaul*, which was then inhabited by unciviliz'd, tho' a Warlike People, was broken divided into a great number of petty Govern- nts. *Spain* and *Germany* were much in the ſame ndition, and *Britain* not much better, as likewiſe *Dacia* and *Illyricum*. *Greece* was in a moſt flou- ng wealthy Condition, under ſeveral Monarchs, Renown, and powerful Common-wealths; but long after became ſubject to the *Macedonian* Em- . *Aſia Minor* was almoſt in the ſame Condition, ſubjected to the *Perſian*, and next to the *Mace- n* Empires, but at laſt partly freed from the r. *Armenia* was a conſiderable Monarchy. *Sy- Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, were all pow- l States, but ſucceſſively ſubject to the *Perſian* *Macedonian* Empires, the firſt of which prov'd a rate Kingdom. *Judea* was a ſmall but noble gdom. *Ægypt* was alſo a flouriſhing Kingdom, ect to its own Kings. *Africa* was a powerful growing Common-wealth, who had *Sicily* in a t meaſure. As for *Italy* it ſelf, that was divided ng many petty Nations and People, as was ob- d in the beginning.

The End of the firſt Book.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK II.

he Conſular State of ROME, *from the Beginning of that Government, to the Ruine of it by the Firſt Triumvirate.*

Containing the ſpace of 449 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

om the Baniſhment of the laſt King, to the firſt Dictator; *which was the firſt Intermiſſion of the* Conſular Power.

Containing the Space of 10 *Years.*

THE State of Affairs in *Rome* was now wholly alter'd, and the Government quite chang'd; Reſtoration of Ancient Privileges was the Peoples con- *U. C.* 245.
nt Diſcourſe, and an odd mixture of Fury and nning ran through the whole Body of the Nati-, which caus'd 'em to put down Kingly Govern-nt and ſet up that of *Conſuls*. Theſe high Offi- *Conſuls.*
s were two in number, firſt call'd *Prætors*, next dices, and afterwards *Conſuls*, *à Conſulendo*, from Counſelling

Counſelling or Conſulting the Common Good the People: They were yearly elected by the Pe ple in the *Centuriata Comitia*, out of the *Patricia* being Perſons no leſs than 43 Years old, or nig and of excellent Qualifications, as long as there w little or no Corruptions. The *Conſular* Power w at firſt equal to the *Regal*, till in a ſhort time *Po cola* brought in the Liberty of *Appealing* to the Pe ple: Yet, after this, their Authority was very lar for *they were the Heads of the People and Senate, ſup our to all other Magiſtrates, govern'd the State, diſp of the Publick Revenues, adminiſter'd Juſtice, call'd diſmiſs'd the Senate, and all General Aſſembles, had the Laws enacted in their Names, led Armies, appoi Officers, treated with all Foreign Princes and Ambaſſad and tranſacted many other things in their own Na* They had alſo the Royal Ornaments us'd by Kings, as the *Golden Crown, Scepter, Purple Ro White Robes*, the twelve *Lictors*, with the *Axes Faſces*, the *Ivory* and *Curule* Chairs; only to prev the People's Jealouſies, the *Crowns* and *Scepters* w never us'd but upon extraordinary Days of T umph; and commonly one was attended by *Axes*, and the other by the *Rods*, changing e Month. The firſt *Conſuls* were *L. Junius Brutus*, *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who had been the Author this Settlement; and they immediately reviv'd Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning Publick Me ings and Aſſemblies, with other things that c duc'd to the Satisfaction of the common ſort, w look'd upon their ancient Rights as newly recover

Before Affairs were perfectly ſettled in the Co mon-wealth, ſome Ambaſſadors from *Hetruria* riv'd at *Rome*, in behalf of the late King *Tar* who was now ſo mortify'd, and ſo ſenſible of Miſmanagement, that he made very large Prom of obſerving all regular Adminiſtration for the ture, *if they wou'd receive him as their lawful K*

W

hen this Propoſal cou'd not be heard, the Amſſadors only deſir'd, *That he might have his Goods urn'd him, at leaſt ſuch as were his Grand-father* Priſ's, *who had deſerv'd no Ill at their hands.* But *Bru-* very violently oppos'd that Demand, as being noſt as dangerous as the other, he eſteeming it no od Policy to furniſh an Enemy with Money a-nſt themſelves; however his Collegue *Collatine* ſt readily comply'd with it, but putting it to the te, it paſs'd in the Negative, the Voices being y nigh equal. The Ambaſſadors meeting with Succeſs, according to their Inſtructions, made ſe-al plauſible Excuſes for tarrying in *Rome* longer n ordinary; and in that time, by their cunning nagment and fair Promiſes, found means to w over ſome of *Collatine*'s Family to their ſides, nely, two of the *Aquilii*, and three of the *Vitellii*, ether with *Brutus*'s two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*. eſe, with ſome others, all join'd in a Conſpiracy, ping their private Meetings at the Houſe of the *ilii*, there to conſult about, and manage their igns, which were to kill both the *Conſuls*, and to eavour to re-inthrone *Tarquin*.

Theſe Conſpirators could not long conceal their ctices, but were diſcover'd by a Slave call'd *Vin-us*, who had accidentally hid himſelf in the ſame om, fearing to be found there, and not having e to come out. Now *Vindicius*, fearing to diſco-this ſtrange Accident to either of the *Conſuls*, n the account of ſuch a nigh Relation, went di-ly to *Valerius*, afterwards call'd *Poplicola*, a great ſtant in this Revolution, and laid open the-ble Plot. *Valerius* was much ſtartled at the Diſ-ery, therefore to proceed warily, he firſt ſecur'd Slave, to have him in readineſs; then ſending Brother *Marcus* to beſet the King's Palace, and ch all the Servants there, he himſelf, with his nds and Clients went to the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, where

where he seiz'd on several Letters writ to *Tarquin* these Conspirators. The *Aquilii* being abroad, m 'em at the Gate, where they endeavour'd to reco their Letters by force of Arms; but *Valerius*, by t help of his Followers, violently dragg'd 'em to t *Forum*, where he found some of the King's Serva with other Letters, who had been likewise for thither by his Brother *Marcus*. The People thron on all sides, but the *Consul*'s Sons drew the Eyes the whole Multitude upon 'em, and several Tum were like to arise, till both the *Consuls* came, ascending the Tribunal, appeas'd all.

Vindicius was immediately sent for by *Valeri* Order, and coming before the *Consuls*, he related whole Story at large, and for a greater Proof aga 'em, the Letters were read publickly before all, *B tus* all the while inwardly burning with Rage Fury. The accus'd Parties pleaded nothing for th selves, but all stood wonderfully astonish'd, and profound Silence; till at last some, to flatter *Br* propos'd *Banishment* as a sufficient Punishment, *Collatine*'s Tears, with *Valerius*'s Silence, gave the soners great hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* at last up, with a stern Majesty, and a Resolution to something that the World should wonder at, he c aloud to both his Sons, *Canst not thou, O* Titus, *thou,* Tiberius, *make any Defence against these C now laid to your charge?* This Question he put to t three several times, and receiving no Answer, he tu himself to the *Lictors* and Executioners, saying, *'tis your part to perform the rest.* Nor cou'd all the timents of Paternal Pity, nor all the sad plea Looks of the People, nor yet the lamentable C plaints of the unhappy Youths, move the Firmn his Resolution; but presently the *Lictors* seiz the two young Men, and stripping 'em, ty'd Hands behind 'em, then tore their Bodies Scourges, and presently after beheaded 'em; *B*

he time gazing on the cruel Spectacle with a
ſt ſteady Look and unalter'd Countenance, while
Multitude look'd on with a ſtrange mixture of
and Amazement. *Brutus* after this Execution
ediately departed out of the *Aſſembly*, leaving the
of the *Criminals* to the Diſcretion of his *Collegue*.
ollatine's backwardneſs in puniſhing the Priſoners,
ourag'd the *Aquilii* to deſire ſome time to anſwer,
to have their Slave *Vindicius* deliver'd up to 'em,
not to continue in the hands of their Accuſers.
tine was ready to do both, and to diſmiſs the Aſ-
bly, when *Valerius*, who had the Slave in his hands,
'd neither deliver him, nor ſuffer the People to
k up without cenſuring the Accuſed; but im-
iately laid hands on the *Aquilii*, and ſent for
us, exclaiming againſt *Collatine*'s partial dealings,
reupon the *Conſul* in a Rage commanded the
rs to take away *Vindicius*, who laying hold on
by violence, were aſſaulted by *Valerius*'s Friends,
People all the while crying out for *Brutus*. Up-
is appearing, Silence being made, he told the
ple, *He had already ſhewn himſelf a ſufficient Lover*
Country by his Juſtice to his Sons, and left the other
quents to them, giving leave to every Man to ſpeak
They immediately put it to the Vote, and
emn'd 'em to be beheaded, which was preſently
uted. *Collatine* finding the People ſo enrag'd at
partly for the ſake of his nigh Relation to *Tar-*
and partly for his unfortunate Behaviour in
uſineſs, willingly reſign'd his Place, and depart-
e City. *Valerius* was ſtrait choſen *Conſul* in his
, who, to reward *Vindicius*, made him Free, al-
ng him ſome Privileges above former *Freed-Men*;
rom him a perfect and full Manumiſſion was
wards call'd *Vindicta*. This done, the *Conſul* di- *Vindicta.*
Tarquin's Goods among the People, demoliſh'd
alace, and laid the *Campus Martius*, which he
ept to himſelf, open as before, where hapning

to

to be Corn which had been newly cut down, threw it into the River; and after that the T that grew there, which fastning in the Ground, stopping the Rubbish that was brought down by Stream, at last grew into an Island, which call'd *Insula Sacra*.

Insula Sacra.

U. C. 246. II. *Tarquin* now finding all his Endeavours fectual, drew together a considerable Army of *trurians*, and advanc'd towards *Rome*. The C likewise drew out theirs to oppose him, and their joining, the two Generals, *Aruns* the So *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Consul*, imprudently fin out each other, and fighting with more Zeal Fury than Conduct and Discretion, were both A very bloody Battel follow'd between both Ar which the Night parted, but with such equal tune, that neither Party had much reason to b but in the Night-time, either from a Voice out Grove, as the common Story goes, *That the* H rians *had lost one Man more than the* Romans, or some other extraordinary Fright, the Enemy don'd their Camp, and being fallen upon by th *mans*, were nigh 5000 taken Prisoners, having 11300 in the Battel before. For this Victory, *rius* triumph'd at his return to the City, after a magnificent manner than any before him; Example was always observ'd by Posterity. after, he bury'd his Collegue *Brutus* with great nour, he himself making a *Funeral Oration* in his mendation; and this Custom was continu'd in for the future, upon the Death of all great an morable Persons. There was such an universal cern through all the City for *Brutus*'s Death, th Women by general Consent mourn'd for h whole Twelvemonth, which was two Months than *Numa* had appointed.

Valerius now sole Governor, deferr'd the El

another Conſul, that he might the more eaſi-
ſettle the Common-wealth himſelf; but the Peo-
complaining, and fearing another *Tarquin*, he
n let 'em ſee their Miſtake by his courteous Be-
viour and ready compliance with all their Deſires,
n to the demoliſhing his own Houſe, which they
ught too large and ſtately for him. His courteous
l obliging Carriage, and his bowing to the Peo-
in the Aſſembly, got him the Name of *Poplicola*.
firſt fill'd up the Senate, which wanted 164
ſons; then made ſeveral Laws in favour of the
ple, and for the Retrenchment of the *Conſular*
wer. By one, he allow'd an *Appeal* from the Con-
s to the People. By another, he made it Death for
y Man to take any Magiſtrate's Office without the
ple's Conſent. A third, gave relief to poor Citi-
ns, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Ano-
r puniſh'd Diſobedience to Conſuls, and appoint-
a Penalty of five Oxen, and two Sheep; a Sheep
ng in thoſe days valu'd at ten *Oboli*, (each *Obolus*
1 *q.*) and an Ox at a hundred. Another Law gave
wer to any Man to kill the Perſon unheard, who
ected the Supreme Power, if he cou'd demonſtrate
Crime. The laſt Law was for the Creation of
o *Quæſtors* or *Publick Treaſurers*, who were to take *Quæſtori.*
e of the Publick Monies and Contributions, and
ointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or
eaſury. Theſe Officers were ſo nam'd *à quærendo*,
auſe they enquir'd after the Publick Money, and
ewiſe after Malefactors. Some ſay *Romulus* and
ma had their *Quæſtors*, but then they were for Pu-
hment, ſuch as were afterwards the *Triumviri*,
Capital Matters. This *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt
p to the Offices of Magiſtracy, and they were
ewiſe to keep the Military Enſigns in the Treaſu-
to ſell Plunder and Booty, lodge and carry out
nbaſſadors, and ſeveral other things of the like
ture. Their Number was afterwards very much

encreas'd, till in the time of *Julius Cæsar* they c
to forty, some being us'd for the Armies, and ot
for the Provinces. Of which, these two of the
Creation were term'd *Urbani*, the rest *Provinc*
and *Militares*.

Poplicola having thus settled Affairs, held an
sembly for the Election of another Consul; w
Lucretius, the Father of *Lucretia*, was chosen,
whom, as being the Elder, *Poplicola* granted
Fasces, or Bundle of Rods, which respect of Age
ever observ'd by their Successors. *Lucretius* d
a few Days after his Creation, was succeeded
M. Horatius, in whose time the *Capitol* was fini
and the Dedication of it fell to *Horatius*, n
against *Poplicola*'s Will, who was forc'd to b
broad in the Wars at the same time. This
perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity,
with as great a Concourse of People of all
In the same Year was the first League made
tween the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, accordin
Polybius, wherein it was provided, that the
mans shou'd not sail beyond the *Fair Promon*
which lay before *Carthage* towards the *North*;
were allow'd to traffick in all that part of *A*
on this side the *Promontory*, as also in *Sardinia*,
that part of *Sicily* that was then under the *Car*
ginians. From whence it appears, that the *Car*
ginians look'd upon *Africa* and *Sardinia* as all t
own, but *Sicily* only in part; but the *Romans* in
ded in this League only *Latium*, making no m
tion of the rest of *Italy*, which was not then in t
Power. In a little time after *Horatius*'s Elect
the time coming for new Consuls to be made,
plicola was chosen a second time, and with
Lucretius Triciptinus, in whose time a *Census* be
perform'd, 130000 were cess'd and valu'd, be
Widows and Orphans.

III.

III. Before *Poplicola*'s ſecond Conſulſhip was ex- *U. C.*
'd, *Tarquin* after his laſt Defeat, had betaken him- 247.
f to the *Cluſini*, one of the twelve Nations of *He-*
ria, and had procur'd *Porſena*, King of *Cluſium*,
l of great Power, to undertake his Quarrel. *Po-*
ola, to appear as magnificent as this King, found-
the City *Sigliucia*, or rather *Signia*, while he was
proaching, which he fortify'd with great Expence,
l planted it with a Colony of 700 Inhabitants.
t *Porſena* march'd directly to *Rome*, laid a cloſe
ge to it, and made a furious Attack upon the
ce; in which Conteſt the two Conſuls with much
iculty repulſing the *Hetrurians*, were both wound-
and carry'd off. Upon which the *Romans* were
ch diſhearten'd, and flying in great Diſorder,
re cloſely purſu'd by the Enemy to the Bridge,
o wou'd alſo undoubtedly have enter'd the Town
h 'em, had not *Horatius Coecles*, with only *Her-*
ius and *Lartius*, moſt valiantly oppos'd 'em. *Coe-*
defended the Paſſage with a wonderful Brave-
till his own Party found time to break down
Bridge, then caſt himſelf arm'd, as he was, into
River, and ſwam over to his Friends, having
eiv'd a Wound with a Spear in his Paſſage over.
licola, to reward him this extraordinary piece of
vice, gave him ſeveral great Privileges, and ap-
nted a Statue to be erected to his Memory in
Temple of *Vulcan*. *Porſena* held the Siege a long
e, and reduc'd the City to great Straits; but *Po-*
ola, now exerciſing his third Conſulſhip, toge-
r with his laſt Years Collegue, drew out his
rces, engag'd the King, overthrew him, and kill'd
oo of his Men.

Nevertheleſs, the Siege continu'd, till *Mutius*, a
n of a moſt undaunted Courage, reſolving to at-
pt the Life of *Porſena*, tho' amidſt his own Sol-
rs, put on a *Tuſcan* Habit, and uſing that Lan-

guage, came into the Camp, where by a Mista he ſtab'd the King's Secretary, who ſat nigh him, i ſtead of the King himſelf. Being apprehended, a ready to be examin'd, he like a Perſon more drea ful to others than fearful himſelf, told 'em, *T he was a* Roman, *and knew as well how to ſuffer a act.* Upon which he couragiouſly thruſt his Rig hand into the Fire, intending to puniſh it for great a Miſtake, all the while beholding *Porſena* wi a ſteady and angry Countenance, who ſtruck a amaz'd at the Greatneſs of his Reſolution, diſmiſ him with much Applauſe, and reach'd him Sword back from his Throne. *Mutius* taking it wi his Left-hand (whence he had the Name of *Sce la)* told the King, *That the Nobleneſs of his Generoſ had more vanquiſh'd him than all the Terrors of Threats; and that in requital he wou'd reveal a Secret him, which no Torments ſhou'd ever have extorted fr him: That three hundred* Romans *in the Camp w now waiting for his Life: That the firſt Attempt appointed for him; but now he was extreamly ſatisfy that he had ſo happily miſs'd killing a Perſon, whoſe Ma nanimity better entitl'd him to the Friendſhip, than Hatred of the* Roman *Nation. Porſena* hearing th was immediately inclin'd to an Accommodation, n out of Fear of the 300 Men, but in Admiration the *Roman* Courage. *Poplicola* was well pleas'd wi the Propoſal, and agreed to make him Arbitrator b tween *Tarquin* and the People; but *Tarquin* reſolu ly refus'd to admit of any Judge; much leſs *Porſe who,* as he ſaid, *had promis'd him Aid, and now ba falſify'd his Word. Porſena,* angry at this, immedia ly made Peace with the *Romans* upon theſe Articl *That the* Romans *ſhou'd quit thoſe* Tuſcan *Lands, wh they had taken from the* Veientes, *reſtore all Priſone and receive all their Deſerters.*

For the ratifying this Peace the *Romans* depo Twenty Hoſtages, Ten young Men, and as ma

irgins, among which was *Valeria*, the Daughter of *oplicola*. All Acts of Hoſtility ceaſing, *Clælia*, a bold *rago*, and one of the Hoſtages, got from her Kee-ers, and at the Head of the reſt of the Virgins, ſwam ver the River *Tiber*, amidſt the Darts of the Ene-ies; and being all got home, they preſented them-lves before *Poplicola*; but he fearing the dangerous onſequences ſuch an Act might occaſion, ſent them l back to *Porſena*; which *Tarquin* underſtanding id an Ambuſcade for them and their Convoy, but ey were reſcu'd by *Aruns*, *Porſena*'s Son. *Porſena* amining them, was ſo much taken with the extra-dinary Courage and good Behaviour of *Clælia*, reſented her with one of his own Horſes ſumptu-uſly equip'd, and gave her Power of diſpoſing of a t number of the Hoſtages, which ſhe did with uch Diſcretion, chuſing out the youngeſt, as be-g leſs able to bear Injuries and Hardſhips. Then give a further Teſtimony of his great Reſpect to e *Romans*, beſides other pieces of Magnificence, he ommanded all his Soldiers to leave the Camp with nly their Arms, delivering to the *Romans* his Tents ell furniſh'd with Proviſions and Riches. On the ther ſide, the *Romans* to ſhew their Gratitude, and preſerve his Memory, erected a Statue for him y the Senate-Houſe; and another to *Clælia*, as *Livy* lates it, which was a *Maid on Horſeback*, in the treet call'd *Via Sacra*; giving likewiſe to *Mutius* a ield beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards call'd *Mutia Pra-*. Thus ended the *Hetrurian* War, much to *Tar-uin*'s Diſſatisfaction; and ſoon after *Herminius* and *Lartius*, who had ſo bravely defended the Bridge, ere together choſen *Conſuls*.

IV. A Year or two after the *Sabines* began to be ery troubleſome, making Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories. *M. Valerius* being one of the Conſuls, y the Inſtructions of his Brother *Poplicola*, obtain'd *U. C.* 249.

great Honours, overthrowing 'em twice, the l
time killing 13000, with little or no loſs to t
Romans. Beſides his Triumph, he had the addit
nal Honour of a Houſe built for him at the Publi
Charge. The Year following, when *Poplicola* w
Conſul the fourth time, the whole Nation of t
Sabines join'd in Confederacy with the *Latines*
gainſt *Rome*; but *Appius Clauſus*, an eminent M
among the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, and El
quence, being much againſt the War, firſt retard
their Preparations, then after a ſhort time cam
over to the *Romans* with 5000 Families of his Frien
and Dependants. Theſe had a conſiderable quan
tity of Land, and large Privileges allow'd 'em, b
ſides their Freedom, eſpecially *Clauſus* himſelf, wh
was made alſo a Senator; and the *Clauſi*, afterwar
Claudii. call'd *Claudii*, became as great a Family as any
Rome. Soon after this, the *Tribes* of the *Roman* Sta
Tribes *encreas'd a ſecond time.* were encreas'd from Four to One and twenty, an
one of the Four in the City was call'd *Tribus Cla
dia*, from the foremention'd *Appius Claudius*; and th
remarkable Change happen'd in the 250th Year
this City, but upon what Account, and by who
Means it was effected, Hiſtorians are very ſilent.

The *Sabines* having made all neceſſary Prepara
ons, advanc'd with all the Troops to *Fidenæ*, layi
an Ambuſcade of 2000 Foot; whereof *Poplicola* h
ving ſome notice by Deſerters, he divided his Forc
into three Parts, and taking the advantage of
Miſt, fell upon the Enemy on ſo many ſides, that on
ly the nigh Diſtance of *Fidenæ*, ſav'd 'em from bein
all cut off; the *Romans* obtaining large Plunder, an
Poplicola a Noble Triumph. Not long after, *Poplic
la* having ended his Conſulſhip, dy'd; and the Peo
ple, as well upon the account of his Poverty, as t
ſhew their Reſpect to ſo great and ſerviceable a Per
ſon, decreed he ſhou'd be bury'd at the Public
Charge, and by a Favour peculiar to that Famil
alone

one, within the City. This was perform'd with an ual Mixture of Pomp and Sorrow; the Women, a general Conſent, mourning for him a whole ear, as they had before done for *Brutus*. In the *U. C.* me Year, *Poſthumius* and *Menenius* being Conſuls, 251. e *Sabines* once more drawing together a numerous rmy, march'd up almoſt to the Walls of *Rome*. s the Conſuls advanc'd towards 'em, *Poſthumius* ll into an Ambaſcade, loſt many of his Men, and arrowly eſcap'd himſelf; which unfortunate Diſ- lvantage put the Citizens into ſo great a Conſter- ation, that they ran back with all ſpeed to their alls, expecting when the Enemy ſhou'd attack the ity: But the Enemy making no ſuch Attempt, ey march'd out again, reſolving to redeem their ſt Credit; and *Poſthumius* more concern'd than e reſt, behav'd himſelf nobly, and together with s Collegue, obtain'd a notable Victory, which had een finiſh'd with the entire ruine of the *Sabines*, ad not the Night interpos'd.

For the Greatneſs of this Victory, the Senate de- reed *Menenius* a full Triumph; but *Poſthumius*, by eaſon of his ill Succeſs in the beginning, had only n inferior one, which the *Romans* call'd *Ovation*, ſo *Ovation.* am'd from the Letter O, as it is ſaid, which the Sol- iers in way of Joy were wont to eccho at their re- urn from Victory, whereas in Triumphs they cry'd *Triumphe!* Now an *Ovation* differ'd from a *Triumph*, *Triumph.* roperly ſo call'd, in theſe Particulars; namely, that n an *Ovation*, the General enter'd the City on foot, nd not in a Chariot; that he was met only by the Knights and Gentlemen, not by the Senators in their Robes; that he himſelf had only the *Pretexta Toga*, he ordinary Habit of Conſuls and Prætors, and not he Robe interwoven with Gold: And laſtly, That e had not a Scepter in his Hand, but had only Lau- el, and a Wreath of Myrtle on his Head. The Year *U. C.* ollowing, *Caſſius* and *Virginius* being Conſuls, the 252.

Sabines receiv'd another great Overthrow at Cu
10300 being kill'd, and 4000 taken Priſoner
which Defeat forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and p
chaſe it with Corn, Money, and part of their La
While *Caſſius* did this good Service againſt the *Sabi*
his Collegue *Virginius* ſubdu'd the *Camarinæans*, W
had revolted, and having executed the Ring-leade
he ſold the reſt, and demoliſh'd the City: And th
ended the Conteſt with the *Sabines* for a while.

U. C. 254. V. *Tarquin* ſtill reſtleſs and unſatisfy'd by the A
ſiſtance of *Mamilius Octavius*, his Son-in-law, ſtir
up the whole Body of the *Latines* to declare W
againſt *Rome*; and moreover, had procur'd *Fide*
to revolt. But the Senate prudently declin'd maki
War with all the *Latines*, well knowing that many
'em were rather inclin'd to live in Peace; therefo
at firſt they block'd up *Fidenæ*, which had receiv
ſome of *Tarquin*'s Forces. *Tarquin* meeting with
great Succeſs, now endeavour'd to accompliſh his D
ſigns a more eaſy way, by fomenting Differenc
and Quarrels between the Rich and poorer ſort
Rome; for the effecting of which, he happen'd on
very convenient Opportunity for his purpoſe. F
about this time the Common People, who we
burden'd by Uſury, were much diſſatisfy'd with th
preſent State of Affairs, eſpecially with the unreaſo
nable Severity of Creditors, who generally ſeiz'd up
on the Body of their Debtors, and us'd 'em wor
than Slaves. *Tarquin* being ſenſible of all this, ſe
certain of his Friends with good quantities
Gold, giving 'em ſome in hand, and promiſing mo
after the King's Reſtoration, and thereby procur
a Conſpiracy of many poor Citizens, and diſcon
tented Slaves. But the whole Matter was ſoon di
cover'd to *Sulpicius*, one of the Conſuls, who aft
he had return'd a very civil Denial to the *Lati*
Ambaſſadors, then preſent about Buſineſs, by
Wil

ile drew the Conſpirators into the *Forum*; where compaſſing 'em about, he put 'em all to the Sword. Theſe dangerous Stirs being thus allay'd for a me, the Conſuls of this and the followng Year ok'd abroad, and in no long time *Fidenæ* was yield- to *Largius Flavius*. The *Latines* now inrag'd at e Loſs of this Town, began to complain of their incipal Men; which Opportunity *Tarquin* and *Ma-ilius* ſo far improv'd, as to procure all the *Latin* Ci-es, 24 in number, to declare War againſt the *Ro-ans*; withal engaging them, that none ſhould for-ke the Intereſt of the Aſſociates, nor make any ſe-rate Peace, which they ſeal'd with dreadful Oaths nd Curſes againſt them who ſhou'd break the Con-deracy, who were to be held as Enemies by all the *U. C.* ſt. The *Latines* made extraordinary Preparations, 255. likewiſe did the *Romans*; but the latter cou'd pro-re no Auxiliaries abroad, therefore were forc'd to ly all upon their Domeſtick Strength, which Ne-ſſity made the better ſort more couragious and va-nt. But in levying Men, to the great ſurprize the Conſuls and Senate, the poorer ſort and ebtors, which were very numerous, refus'd to liſt emſelves, except their Debts were all remitted by Decree of Senate; nay, ſome began to talk of aving the City, *ſince they cou'd have no happy Life hile they were there.*

The *Patritians* endeavour'd to appeaſe the Multi-de by gentle Words, but all in vain; upon which e *Senate* fell into a ſerious Debate about this weigh- Matter. There were ſome for a free Remiſſion all Debts, as the ſafeſt and ſecureſt Method at at Juncture; others urg'd the dangerous Conſe-uences of this Condeſcention, adviſing 'em to liſt ch as wou'd give in their Names, and ſlight the reſt. etween theſe two Extreams, ſeveral other Methods ere propos'd; but at length this Order prevail'd. *hat all Suits and Proceſſes concerning Debts ſhould ceaſe*

till

till this War was finish'd. This Expedient, tho' some measure useful, had not the intended Effe upon the unruly Minds of the Multitude, therefo the Senate was put upon another. Whereas by t Laws of *Poplicola*, the Consular Authority was mu restrain'd and diminish'd by the Appeal to the Pe ple, so that no Man cou'd be oblig'd to go into t War against his Will; therefore they found it n cessary at this time, *as well as upon the account of Wars abroad, as the Troubles at home,* to create a pa ticular Magistrate, from whom shou'd lie no Appe and who for a set time shou'd be the sole Gove nour. This Supream Officer was call'd *Dictato Largius Flavius* was the first that was created by t Senate; and this was the first Intermission of t Consular Power, about ten Years after their fi Creation, and afterwards prov'd the Ruine of t Popular State, and the bringing in of *Monarchy* second time.

CHAP. II.

From the Creation of the first Dictator, *the great Retrenchment of the* Consul Power *by the* Tribunes of the People.

Containing the Space of 5 Years.

Dic. i. U. C. 255. I. NOw was the Consular Power for a while la aside, and another Officer made, who h more Power than both the Consuls; so nam'd *à Stando*, from dictating or commanding what was t be done. He was also call'd *Magister Populi*, a *Prætor Maximus*, and was always created in t Night-time by the Senate's Order, and Nominati of the Consuls without the People; and was gen rally made, either upon some urgent Occasion War and Sedition, or in the times of Plagues a

mines, or for the Celebration of ſome particular ames, or whenever elſe there was need of a ſudden d extraordinary Command; and this was oftenes a means of preſerving the *Roman* Commonealth from Ruine. His Authority was abſolute, *had Power of Peace and War, to levy Forces, to lead 'em , to disband 'em, and to act all things according to his leaſure, without referring them to the Senate*; and upon s Creation, all other Magiſtrates, except the *Tribunes the People*, laid down their Offices, and the whole overnment was left in his hands. He had 24 Bunes of *Rods* carry'd before him, with as many *Axes*, d he puniſh'd as he pleas'd without any Appeal; nce this Office came to be ſo terrible, that the dict of a *Dictator* was obſerv'd as the Command of Deity. But then this extraordinary Power was liited both by Time and Place; for the Office was ver to continue above ſix Months; nor was the *ictator* allow'd to march out of *Italy*, nor ever on orſeback without leave, to ſhew that the *Roman* rength lay in the Infantry. The *Dictator* upon his reation, always made choice of another Officer, e that had either been *Conſul* or *Prætor*, to aſſiſt m; this Officer was call'd *Magiſter Equitum*, who d chief Command over the Horſe-men, as the *ictator* had over the *Roman* People. In the *Dictator*'s bſence, this *Maſter of the Horſe* executed his Place the Army; if preſent, he commanded the Horſe, et ſo as to be obedient to the *Dictator*'s Orders, d never to fight either contrary to, or without s Commands. *Magiſter Equitum.*

Largius Flavius, one of the Conſuls for this Year, eing, as was ſaid before, made *Dictator*, choſe *Sp. Caſus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who had been Conſul the Year 252, and immediately appear'd in Pubck with his 24 *Axes* and *Rods* before him; which on chang'd the Face of Affairs in the City. Haing with theſe and other Enſigns of Power terrify'd

and

and ſtopp'd the Seditious Murmurs of the Multitud
he began the *Cenſus*, after the Pattern of *Servius Tu*
lius, the ſixth King, according to the *Tribes*, taking t
Names and Ages of ſuch as were ceſs'd, and of Chi
dren. In a ſhort time, the Fear of loſing Freedo
and Eſtates ſo far prevail'd, that 150700 of f
Age gave in their Names, which he diſtributed in
four Parts, taking one for himſelf, ordering a ſecon
for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and the two remaining
two Perſons commiſſion'd on purpoſe, one of whi
was to continue in the City for the Defence of
Affairs thus ſettl'd, he ſent ſome private Miniſte
who dealt privately with ſeveral *Latine* Cities, an
procur'd 'em to ſuſpend the War, and make a Truc
for one Year, notwithſtanding the great Oppoſi
ons made by *Tarquin* and *Mamilius*, for whoſe ſak
they undertook the Quarrel. Upon this, *Larg*
return'd home with his Army, and before his f
Months were out, he laid down his Office, and th
Conſular Power took place again, no Citizen bein
puniſh'd either by Death or Baniſhment, or cruel
us'd in all that time; and this Carriage was imit
ted by his Succeſſors for many Ages; and notwith
ſtanding the Vaſtneſs of this Authority, it was ver
rarely abus'd; nor was the Common-wealth an
ways prejudic'd by it, till *Sylla*'s time.

When the Truce between the *Romans* and *Latin*
was at an end, both Parties prepar'd to take th
Field, the former chearfully, and the latter unwillin
ly. The *Latines* were ſo ſtrong, that the *Roma*
Dict. ii. thought it convenient to create a *Dictator*, and ac
U. C. cordingly *Virginius* the Senior Conſul nominat
257. *Poſthumius* his Collegue, who choſe *Ebutius Helva* fo
his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and haſtning his Levies, di
vided his Troops into four Parts, reſerving one t
himſelf, aſſigning the ſecond to *Virginius*, the thir
to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who was t
defend the City. Upon Intelligence that the *La*
tine

es had taken the Field, *Poſthumius* advanc'd with ſpeed to the Lake *Regillus*, 14 Miles *Eaſt* of *Rome* *Tuſculum*, where he fortify'd himſelf againſt the nemy, who as yet were not all united, but expe- ed Aid from the *Volſci*. The *Romans* divided them- lves into three Parts, and were ſo conveniently oſted as to cut off all Proviſions from the *Latine* amp, deſigning to ſtarve 'em; but the News of the arch of the *Volſci* alter'd their Meaſures, making m reſolve to engage. The *Roman* Army conſiſted 24000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and the Enemy of 000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, *Tarquin*'s Son *Titus* mmanding the main Body, his Brother *Sextus* the eft Wing, and *Mamilius* the Right: *Poſthumius* ſtood ainſt *Titus*, *Ebutius* againſt *Sextus*, and *Virginius* a- inſt *Mamilius*, and ſo began a bloody Battel. *Flo-* ſays that *Poſthumius* caſt one of the Enſigns a- ong the Enemy, that his Men might be the more ger to fall upon 'em and recover it; and that *Ebu-* *s* commanded the Bridles to be taken off the Hor- s, that they might charge with the greater Vio- nce and Fury. The Victory at laſt fell on the *omans* ſide; and the Battel was fought with ſo uch Bravery and Courage, that it was reported, at the Gods themſelves were preſent, particular- *Caſtor* and *Pollux* mounted on milk white Steeds. he *Latines* loſt *Mamilius* and *Sextus*, and were ſo roken, that ſcarce a fourth Part of 'em eſcap'd; and om the Place of this Victory, *Poſthumius* obtain'd e Surname of *Rhegillenſis*; many others likewiſe aining great Honour, particularly *Caius Marcius*, fterwards call'd *Coriolanus*.

After the Battle was over, the *Volſci* arriv'd at the amp, whereof one Party was for attacking the *omans* now weary; but another Party, willing to ngratiate themſelves with the Conquerors, prevail'd o ſend to the *Dictator*, to let him underſtand, *That ey came to his aſſiſtance*. But *Poſthumius* convinc'd 'em of

of their Falſhood by their own Letters which he h
intercepted, and giving leave to the Meſſengers
return, whom the Multitude would have pull'd
pieces, reſolv'd to fall on them the next day; b
in the Night they abandon'd their Camp and fl
The *Latines*, now in a very bad Condition, ſent
the humbleſt manner imaginable to beg Peace of t
Romans; and their Ambaſſadors with ſo many Te
and ſubmiſſive Intreaties laid all the Blame on
Nobility, that the Motion of *Largius* prevail'd
their Behalf for the former League to be renew
Thus ended all the Wars made upon the *Tarquins*
count, which had been carry'd on for 13 Years.
for *Tarquin* himſelf, the only Perſon left of all
Family, now abandon'd by the *Latines*, *Hetruri*
Sabines, with the reſt of the neighbouring Peop
who all refus'd to harbour him, he went into Ca
pania to *Ariſtodemus* Prince of *Cuma*, where he ſhor
after dy'd, being about 90 Years of Age, and
laſt King that *Rome* ever ſaw.

U. C. 258. II. Upon the finiſhing of this War, *Poſthumius* l
down his Office, and *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, a
Servilius Priſcus were made Conſuls for the Year f
lowing; and now the Courts of Juſtice were ag
open'd, and Proceſſes againſt Debtors revived. T
caus'd great Diſturbances among the Common Pe
ple, the *Plebeians* alledging their Inability of payi
their Debts upon the account of their Loſſes by
Enemies Incurſions, and their want of Tillag
which Plea their Creditors likewiſe made uſe
ſhewing that theſe Loſſes were ſuch as made the
mitting of their Debts impoſſible; which occaſion
many Tumults and Quarrels. The Conſuls endea
vour'd to divert theſe threatning Miſchiefs, by m
king War againſt the *Volſci*, who had lately aſſiſt
the *Latines*; but none of the *Plebeians* wou'd l
themſelves, making grievous Complaints againſt t

tolerable Severity of their Creditors, and decla-
ng, *That they had ventur'd their Lives to preſerve the Li-
rty of the State abroad, and in requital were made Slaves
their Countrymen at home.* Now *Servilius* was wil-
ng to comply in ſome meaſure with the Poor, but
ppius very hotly oppos'd it as the moſt dangerous
emedy in the World; and the Diſagreement of the
onſuls added much to the common Calamity.
owever, the Senate at laſt was forc'd to have re-
ourſe to the Popularity of *Servilius*, who with fair
ords and Promiſes perſuaded the People into the
eld; where, when he had by his good Services de-
rv'd a Triumph, the Honour was deny'd him by
e Inſinuation of his Collegue *Appius*, who repre-
nted to the Senate, *That by bearing and complying
ith the Multitude, he had impair'd the Dignity of his
rder.* The People now expecting the Performances
Servilius's Promiſes, were wholly diſappointed by
ppius's Contrivances, which doubled their Rage,
d made 'em carry all things by open Force, reſcu-
g their Companions out of the hands of the Ser-
ants, holding ſecret Cabals, denying ever to touch
Weapon, till their Burdens were remov'd.

Theſe dangerous Stirs put the Senate to a great
nd; *Appius* ſtill urg'd, *That nothing ought to be granted
the Rabble*; and the better to quell the Diſtur-
nces, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which moſt *Dic.* iii.
ppos'd wou'd be himſelf: But the preſent Conſuls *U. C.*
ade choice of *M. Valerius*, a popular Man, ſuppo- 259.
ng that the Terror of the Office alone wou'd per-
rm the Work, and that a Perſon of a mild and mo-
rate Temper wou'd beſt manage it. *Valerius* choſe
rvilius, the late Conſul, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*,
nd he minding the Pleaſure of the People more
an his own Authority, told 'em, *That if they wou'd
eely follow him, not only what they juſtly requir'd concern-
g their Debts, but other Rewards ſhou'd be granted 'em*;
which means he procur'd ten Legions to be liſted.

With

With these he march'd against the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms; and having duc'd 'em, he divided some Lands he had taken fr the *Volsci*, among the Soldiers. At his return he quested the Senate, that his and their Promises mi be made good, but was check'd for his too gr Compliance with the Multitude; and because was an old Man above seventy, unfit as he said contend, and unwilling to shew his utmost Aut rity, he immediately laid down his Office. T more inflam'd the Common People, who now their private Consultations, designing to sepa themselves from the *Patritians*; which when the S nate perceiv'd, Order was given to the Consuls to disband the Army, pretending that the *Sab* and *Æqui* had new Designs against *Rome*. Now Soldiers being strictly bound by their Oath, ca *Sacramentum*, at their first Listing, cou'd not forsa their Standards; but the Consuls having their Cam nigh each other, by the Advice of one *Sicinius lulus*, they all removed to one of them; and th taking away the Ensigns and Standards from Consuls, they retir'd to a Mountain afterwa call'd *Mons Sacer*, three Miles North of *Rome* by River *Anio*, now call'd *Taverone*.

Upon this News, the whole City was in a stran Consternation and Tumult; insomuch that the *tritians* fear'd lest Civil Wars shou'd insue, for *Plebeians* growing extream high, many of 'em the Town and flock'd to the Army, tho' the ot hinder'd it as much as possible. The Fathers h great Contests among themselves, some pleading the Multitude, others urging nothing but down ri Force; till the former sort prevail'd to send a M sage to the Armies, desiring 'em, *To return home, declare their Demands*; withal promising 'em, *To get their Crimes, and to reward their good Services.* this Message was receiv'd with disdainful Words, a

viole

olent Complaints, intermix'd with threatning Lan-
uage; which the more ſenſibly afflicted the Fathers,
not knowing which way to procure a Reconcilia-
on, ſince they cou'd no longer keep the People in
e City from going over to the Army. Now was
e time for electing of new Conſuls at hand, but
e Stirs were ſo violent, that no *Candidates* (ſo cal- *Candi-*
d, becauſe they ſu'd for the Place in *White Gar-* *dates.*
ents) wou'd ſtand for the Office, nor any accept
f it; till at laſt the Conſuls by their ſole Authority, *U. C.*
ppointed *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Caſſius*, who 260.
ad been Conſuls before, and were equally in favour
ith the Nobility and Commons.

The Conſuls immediately call'd the Senate, and
nſulted 'em about the return of the Commons.
grippa Menenius, a very diſcreet Perſon, and a great
rator in thoſe days, urg'd *the great neceſſity of a Com-*
ſure, and a Compliance with the People, ſince the Ro-
an *Dominions cou'd neither be encreas'd, nor yet preſerv'd*
ithout the inferior ſort. Valerius the laſt *Dictator* ſe-
nded him, and upbraided the Senate *for not belie-*
ing him when he fortold theſe Diſtempers; that now they
ght to heal the Wound before it was gone too far; that
ere were ſeveral Reaſons the Roman *People had to ſeparate*
emſelves from the better ſort, all which had great and
auſible Appearances of Juſtice. But *Appius*, accord-
g to his uſual manner, violently declaim'd a-
ainſt the *Inſolence of the Mob, and the Imprudence of*
e Senate in any ſort of Compliances; that if they granted
eſe things when Enemies which they refus'd when Friends,
ey wou'd not reſt here, but require a Communication of all
onours, and what not? So that at laſt the whole Power
the State wou'd come into the hands of the Rabble. This
peech ſo pleas'd and tranſported ſome of the young-
ſort of his Party, that nothing cou'd be deter-
in'd by reaſon of the Heats on both ſides. This put
e Conſuls upon diſmiſſing the Senate for that time,
dmoniſhing the younger ſort, *to carry themſelves more*

modeſtly for the future, or elſe they wou'd prefer a Law to limit a certain Age for Senators; exhorting likewiſe the graver ſort to Concord, letting them know, *That they had a way to end the Controverſy, by referring the Matter to the People, who had a Right to judge of it, as a Caſe of Peace and War.* Upon which, the Senate broke up.

At the next Meeting, the Senate almoſt unanimouſly agreed to treat with the People, tho' *Appius* oppos'd it what he cou'd; and *Menenius* with nine others were commiſſion'd with full Power to compoſe the Differences. At their firſt arrival at the Camp, the Propoſals cou'd not be heard thro' the Inſtigation of two cunning and turbulent Fellows, *Sicinius* and *Lucius Junius*, who out of conceit had likewiſe affected the Name of *Brutus*; but by degrees they were ſo far appeas'd as to liſten to the Commiſſioners. *Menenius* finding the Rage and Violence of the People too great to hearken much to Rhetorick, bethought himſelf of a more effectual way, and ſuch as was more likely to make Impreſſion; therefore laying aſide his formal way of Speeches and Oratory, after a ſhort Preamble or two of diſcharging all diſabled Debtors, he in a plain and familiar way began thus: *Once upon a time the Members and Parts of Man's Body fell out with the Belly, alledging, that they were all forc'd to toil and moil to provide Neceſſaries for the Belly, whilſt they liv'd idle and lazy in the midſt of the Body, and did nothing but enjoy Pleaſures. Whereupon they reſolv'd that the Hands ſhould not lift the Meat to the Mouth, nor the Mouth receive, nor yet the Teeth chew it; by which means while they endeavour'd to famiſh the Belly, they themſelves and the whole Body were ſtarv'd for want of the Nouriſhment they receiv'd from it.* This Story, and his home Application of it, had ſo great an Effect upon the People, that they unanimouſly cry'd out, *He ſhall lead 'em home without delay.*

The Multitude were ſo well ſatisfi'd, that they were ready to depart with no other Security than the bare Words of the Commiſſioners; but *Junius Brutus* be-

for

ore-mention'd, kept 'em from that, alledging, *That bo' they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind Offers of the enate, yet ſome Perſons of revengeful Tempers might not- withſtanding reſerve their Anger for a more convenient Op- ortunity; and that therefore it was neceſſary for the Security f the Commons, to have certain Officers created yearly out of heir own Body, whoſe Power ſhou'd be to give Relief to ſuch* lebeians *as were injur'd, and ſuffer none to be defrauded of heir Rights.* This was greatly approv'd of by the Multi- ude, and cloſely inſiſted on and urg'd to *Menenius* and is Fellow-Commiſſioners; who thought it not pro- er to yield to a matter of that great Conſequence ithout leave from the Senate, but demanded time o know their Pleaſures. Upon the Debate of this Matter in the Senate-houſe, *Valerius* thought the Fa- our was to be granted to the Commons; but *Appius* noſt violently oppos'd it, invoking the Gods, and ruly foretelling, *What vaſt Troubles and Calamities the ranting it wou'd certainly bring upon the Common-wealth;* et the Majority, weary'd out with the preſent Miſ- ortunes, and deſiring Peace, gave it in favour of the eople, and Commiſſioners were immediately diſ- atch'd to 'em with the Reſolution of the Houſe. The ommons, by the Advice of *Menenius*, firſt ſent to ave a Religious Confirmation of this Privilege from he Senate, and afterwards in the Aſſembly of the *uriæ*, or *Curiata Comitia*, elected *J. Brutus* and *Sici- ius Bellulus*, to whom they afterwards join'd *C.* and *. Licinius*, and *Icilius Ruga*, which made five in all.

Tribuni Plebeis.

Theſe Officers were call'd *Tribunes of the People*, ei- her becauſe they were elected by the *Tribes*, or be- auſe they were firſt made out of the *Tribunes* or Co- onels of the Soldiers. They were firſt Five in num- er; 37 Years after, Five more were added, and this umber of Ten ſo continu'd; and they were always lected by the *Plebeians*, and ever out of their Body, ex- ept once, and moſt commonly of the lower ſort, till y a Law made afterwards, they were order'd to be

created out of ſuch of the *Plebeians* as were Senato
They had the Power of *Interpoſing*, and the Deſign
that Power was to relieve the Oppreſſed, and to b
Shield to keep off all Evil and Miſchief. They null
all ſuch *Decrees* and *Commands* of the Senate and Co
ſuls as they reckon'd unjuſt, and of all other Ma
ſtrates, except the *Dictators*; and to ſhew their re
dineſs to protect the meaneſt, their Doors ſtood op
Night and Day to their Complaints. They at firſt h
their Seats plac'd before the Doors of the Senate-hou
tho' afterwards they enter'd in, where examining th
Decrees of the Fathers, they either interpos'd by t
Word *Veto* or *Vetamus* ſolemnly pronounc'd, or e
ſign'd 'em with the Letter *T*, which made 'em pa
They procur'd themſelves to be accounted *Sacroſan*
ſo as by a Law made they were free from all man
of Compulſion, and were inviolable either by Wo
or Deed, and ſevere Penalties laid on ſuch as broke i
and leſt the People ſhou'd afterwards repeal this La
they made all the Citizens take the moſt ſolemn Oa
imaginable to preſerve it entire and untouch'd. As fo
the *Enſigns* of their Office, they had no *Toga Prete*
Lictors or *Curule Chair*, but only a ſort of a *Beadle*, call
Viator, went before 'em. The want of theſe Attendan
their not entring at the beginning of the Year, a
their not laying down their Office upon the Creatio
of a *Dictator*, made ſome hold 'em to be no *Magiſtrate*
but rather a Curb and Reſtraint to all others. No
withſtanding the diſproportionate Greatneſs of the
Tribunes Power, it was conſiderably limited by theſe tw
things, which they ſcarcely perceiv'd at the begin
ning: The firſt was their Confinement to the Cit
Walls, out of which they had no Authority; neithe
was it lawful for 'em to be abſent from the City a Da
Dion ſays not an Hour: The ſecond was their Num
ber, for any one of the Ten had a Negative Vote
and this was the only effectual means to moderat
the Power which they afterwards aſſum'd; the *Pe*
tritia

itians generally prevailing with one of the Ten to e of their ſide, which was ſufficient to hinder the eſigns of all the reſt.

This was the firſt great Retrenchment of the *Conſu- r Power*, beſides what had been caus'd by *Poplicola* efore: And now the Common-wealth was turn'd om an *Ariſtocracy* to a *Democracy*, or at leaſt to a Mixture of both. The Awe which this *Sacroſanct* Magiſtracy had upon moſt People, gave 'em occaſi- n afterwards to enlarge their Power and Authori- y, and to become moſt extravagantly imperious, aſ- embling and diſmiſſing the Senate, impriſoning the Conſuls, and the like, as ſhall be more particularly hewn afterwards: So that they often prov'd the Cauſe of many dangerous Seditions and Tumults, nd were the greateſt Diſturbers of the Peace of the Common-wealth, inſomuch that they were by ſome Authors call'd *Peſtes Reipublicæ*. This remarkable nnovation on the Government hapned in the 260 Year of the City, 46 after the Ruine of the *Babylo- ian*, and the Beginning of the *Perſian* Empire, and n the third Year of the 71ſt *Olympiad*.

CHAP. III.

From the Creation of the Tribunes of the People, *to the ſecond Intermiſſion of the* Conſular Power *by the* Decemviri.

Containing the Space of 42 Years.

THE Commons having got a Confirmation of the Office of *Tribune* from the Senate, ob- ain'd further, that they might yearly chuſe two out of their own Body, to aſſiſt theſe Officers. Theſe were firſt call'd *Miniſters and Aſſiſtants of the* Tribunes, but afterwards *Ædiles, ab Ædibus curandis*, becauſe one part of their Office was to take care of the repairing *U. C.* 260. *Ædiles.*

the Publick Buildings, Aqueducts and Common Sewers, especially the Temple of *Ceres*, where all the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the Commons were kept of which they had an Oversight. Besides the care of the Publick Buildings, they were by the Permission of the *Tribunes* to determine some particular Controversies; to look after such as held more Land than the Laws allow'd 'em; to accuse such Matrons as liv'd scandalously; to punish excessive Usurers, and Extortioners; to restrain Tipling and Gaming-houses; to fine Persons for leud and uncivil Words or Actions; to correct false Weights and Measures; to provide Bread-Corn and Oil in the time of Famine, and to see that the same was not hoarded up, nor the Markets forestall'd; as also to take care that necessary Provisions were sent to the Armies, and the like. About 127 Years after, were added two more out of the *Patricians*, call'd *Ædiles Curules*, who shall be spoken of in their proper place.

After the Commons had obtain'd these Officers, and what else they desir'd, they readily listed themselves to go against the *Volsci*, under *Posthumius* the Consul. He soon took *Longula* and *Polustia* from 'em, then invested *Corioli*, a strong City, and the Metropolis of the Nation; but the *Antiates* marching to its relief, he left part of his Army under *T. Largius*, and with the other advanc'd to give the Enemy Battel. *Largius* in the mean time attempting to storm the Town, the Besieg'd received him with so much Courage and Vigour, that the *Romans* were driven back to their Trenches in great Disorder; but *Caius Marcius*, a valiant *Patritian* formerly mention'd, with a small Party, most courageously stood the Enemies Shock, and with a wonderful Bravery forc'd 'em back into the Town, whom he follow'd so close at their Heels, that he went in with 'em: By which the Besieg'd were so terrify'd, that not considering their own Numbers, they fled to the contrary part of the City, suffering him to let the rest of the

he Army into the Town, which they ſoon poſſeſs'd hemſelves of. Which done, *Marcius* wou'd not permit the Soldiers to ſtay for Plunder, but haſtned 'em o join the Conſul with all ſpeed; and whilſt the Armies were approaching, deſir'd leave of *Poſthumius* o engage in the main Body with his Party, where he chief Strength of the Enemy lay; and having obtain'd that Poſt, he behav'd himſelf with that admirable Courage and Conduct, that the Enemy were ſoon overthrown. The Conſul gave him extraordinary Commendations, owning him to be the chief Cauſe of the Victory, and offer'd him a large Share of the Booty before the Diviſion among the Soldiers. But he modeſtly refus'd all but one ſingle Horſe, which gain'd him greater Honour among the Soldiers, and caus'd *Poſthumius* to beſtow the Surname of *Coriolanus* upon him, for his incomparable Valour ſhewn at *Corioli*. The *Volſci* by this Overthrow were forc'd to Submiſſion, and made their Peace. This ſame Year was the League of Confederacy renew'd with the *Latins*, and likewiſe a third *Feria* or Holy-day appointed by the Senate for the Union of the Nobility and Commons, the firſt being for the Conqueſt of *Hetruria* in the fifth King's Reign, and the ſecond for the Baniſhment of *Tarquin*. This Year alſo dy'd *Menenius*, whom the People out of Gratitude bury'd at the Publick Charge, becauſe he dy'd poor, and Money was beſtow'd on his Children. Now likewiſe was the *Cenſus* perform'd, and 110000 Heads were ceſs'd.

II. The Year following, there was a great Famine in the City, occaſion'd chiefly by the want of Tillage during the late Separation. This put the Senate upon ſending to *Sicily*, and ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, to buy Corn; but notwithſtanding this Care, the Common ſort, now extreamly pinch'd with Want, grew very turbulently, laying all the Blame upon the *Patritians*. This Advantage the *Volſci* endeavour'd to improve, but *U. C.* 261.

were diverted by a grievous Plague, which ſo rag among 'em, that *Velitra*, a noble City of that Cou try, being exhauſted of its Inhabitants, they begg'd the *Romans* to ſend a Colony thither. Which occ ſion'd many of the *Romans*, tho' unwillingly, to ſent thither, and alſo to *Norba*; a *Latin* Town. Upo which the reſt were ſo enrag'd, imagining it a Deſig to deſtroy 'em, that they call'd the *Tribunes* into t *Comitium*, where they and the Conſuls had a violen Conteſt; which occaſion'd a Law to be made, *T no Man ſhou'd dare to interrupt the* Tribunes, *when t ſpoke to the People.* This ſtill bred greater Animoſi between the Senate and People; but the Conſuls divert 'em, and to eaſe their Wants, offer'd to lead 'e into the Enemies Country; but few or none wou liſt themſelves; ſo that *Marcius Coriolanus* with ſom *Patritians*, and a few of their *Clients*, made Incurſion and return'd home laden with Booty; the knowled of which put the poorer ſort into a freſh Murmu ing againſt the *Tribunes*, who had diſſuaded the from the Expedition. So that now the City w almoſt all in a Flame and Confuſion, but more fro the Infirmity of the Government, than the Diſpo ſition of the People.

Theſe Tumults and diſturbances were conſider bly appeas'd by the happy arrival of great Quantiti of Corn from *Sicily*, which was bought at a chea Rate, and half given in by *Gelon* of *Sicily*. Now th *Patritians* conſidering at what Rates to diſpoſe of th Corn, *Coriolanus*, incens'd at the Behaviour of th Commons, counſell'd 'em *to keep it up at a high rate, a to ſhew no Favour, nor give any Incouragement to the Inſo lence of the* Tribunes *and the Rabble; but wholly to take way the* Tribuneſhip, *as the only way to remedy the Diſor ders of the State.* Upon notice of this, the Multitude i a mad Fury wou'd have fall'n upon the Senate, bu were ſtopt by the *Tribunes*, who laid all the blame up on *Coriolanus*, and ſent the *Ædiles* to apprehend him

and

l bring him before the People. The *Ædiles* going to ecute their Office, were repuls'd and beaten by the ung *Patritians*, who were gather'd about *Coriolanus*. is put all in a greater Flame than ever, and the ole City tumultuouſly aſſembl'd together, where *Tribunes* decreed, that *Coriolanus* ſhou'd immediate- be caſt down headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock. e *Ædiles* ſtrait ſeiz'd on him, and the *Patritians* a- n reſcu'd him, and there was nothing but Tumults l Uproars in all places: But the Senate by ſelling Corn at low Rates, and by good Words and En- aties, ſo far appeas'd 'em, that the *Tribunes* null'd ir former Decree, and ſet him a Day to anſwer himſelf before the People. The Conſuls finding ir Authority was like to be much weaken'd, after g Debates and much Difficulty, procur'd the *Tri- es* to ſue out this Decree from the Senate, which was nted; and the third Market-day after was appoint- for his Trial. *Coriolanus* demanded of the *Tribunes* at they wou'd lay to his Charge; who after ſome nſultation, told him, *They intended to accuſe him of ing at Sovereignty and Tyranny*; whereupon he chear- y put himſelf upon Trial, not refuſing the ſevereſt niſhment, if they cou'd prove that againſt him.

When the appointed day was come, all Perſons were d with great Expectations, and a vaſt Concourſe of untry-People early in the Morning had plac'd mſelves in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* aſſembl'd the ple, ſeparating the *Tribes* from one another with rds, and ordering them to give their Votes accor- g to their *Tribes*, and not according to their *Centu-*; which Innovation the *Patritians* much complain'd but after ſome debate, admitted it. *Minucius*, the nſul, began firſt, *Declaring the great Worth of the Per- o be try'd, ſignifying that the Senate became Petitioners in behalf, and deſiring the* Tribunes *that they wou'd keep lly to their firſt Impeachment, namely, his aiming at So- aignty*; which they promis'd to do. *Sicinius*, one of the

the *Tribunes*, enviously urg'd all that he cou'd im
wou'd make for his purpose, putting the worst C
struction upon all his Actions: But when *Corio*
came to speak, his Affairs soon seem'd to be in a m
favourable Condition; for his graceful relating
his great Services to the State, his shewing his Sca
ceiv'd all over his Body, and the Cries and Lame
tations of such as he had sav'd in the Wars, made su
powerful Impression upon the People, that they g
rally cry'd out, *He was to be releas'd.* But *Decius*,
ther of the *Tribunes*, a cunning and spiteful Fell
stood up, alledging, *That he wou'd wave all Word*
Expressions, and insist on his Actions, which wou'd
good the Charge of Tyranny: There was a certain Law
all Booty and Plunder gain'd in War, shou'd be appropr
to the Publick Use, and be given into the hand of the Q
stor, *untouch'd by the General. Now, whereas that*
had ever been look'd upon as inviolable, Coriolanus
wilfully broke it: For in the late Incursion into the Territo
Antium, *where he had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel*
Provisions, he neither deliver'd these things to the Qua
nor paid any Money into the Treasury, but divided the
among his Friends, which was a manifest Argument th
design'd to enslave his Country; it being the constant
Etice of all that affect Tyranny, by such means to pr
themselves Instruments for their Purpose. Coriolanus
strangely surpriz'd at so unexpected a Charge;
the *Consuls* and *Patritians* being likewise utterly to
for an Answer, the *Tribunes* immediately nam'd
petual Banishment, and gather'd the Votes of
Tribes, where only nine of the one and twenty cl
him, so he stood condemn'd by the Majority.
was the first Sentence pass'd by the People upon
Patritian, and henceforth the *Tribunes* usually *set*
to whomsoever they pleas'd; whereby the Pow
the Commons was very much enlarg'd, and the
tereſt of the *Patritians* more and more diminish'd

Coriolanus, accompany'd home with the Sighs

rs of a great many, took his leave of his Mother, e, and Children, who all made lamentable Com- nts; but he, like a true *Roman*, with ſmall Ap- rance of Concern, bad 'em bear all chearfully, departed the City without any thing to bear his rges, attended only by a few of his *Clients*. Thus went to *Antium*, and apply'd himſelf to *Tullus At-* a Man of great note among the *Volſci*, of a mag- imous Spirit, and a violent Enemy of the *Romans*, re throwing himſelf at his Feet, he begg'd of him *venge his Country's Loſſes by his Death, or his own Wrongs ome's Deſtruction, which by her unnatural Carriage rds him, had now forfeited all that Duty and Service ight have juſtly expected at his hands.* *Tullus* moſt rea- eſpous'd his Quarrel, and by his Advice ſent many e *Volſci* to *Rome*, upon pretence of ſeeing ſome ſo- n Games at that time celebrated, but with deſign ake a Breach between the two Nations. Theſe procur'd a Perſon to go to the Conſuls, and ac- the Strangers of having ſome dangerous Deſign nſt the City, which immediately occaſion'd an er from the *Conſuls*, *That all Strangers ſhould depart n-ſet.* This Order *Tullus* repreſented to his Coun- men as a Breach of the Peace, and ſo aggravated matter, that he procur'd 'em to ſend to *Rome*, to and all the Towns and Territories which the *Ro-* had taken from 'em. The Senate receiv'd this ſage with great Scorn, telling them, *That if the ci were the firſt that took up Arms, the* Romans *wou'd e laſt that ſhou'd lay 'em down.* Upon which Anſwer *Volſci* made all neceſſary Preparations for a War. *riolanus*, together with *Tullus*, was made General *U. C.* e *Volſci*, and accordingly invaded the *Roman* Ter- *265.* ies, ravaging and laying waſte all ſuch Lands as ng'd to the *Plebeians*, but not ſuffering thoſe of Nobility to be injur'd in any part. This rais'd new motions between the Nobility and Commons; former upbraiding the latter with Ingratitude to

ſo

ſo conſiderable and deſerving a Perſon; and the ter charging the other with Treachery to their C try, and ſaying, *It was by their procurement that he ded their Dominions.* *Coriolanus* returning with his richly laden with Booty, was ſent out ſoon after the ſole Command of half the Forces, and ta *Circæum*, a *Roman* Colony, he then fell upon the *tins*, who immediately ſent to *Rome* for Succour; the Commons Averſeneſs to the Wars, and the proaching End of the preſent Conſuls Office, der'd their Meſſage of no effect. But *Coriolanus* proceeded with great Succeſs, taking *Tolerium*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, all by Storm, plundering them, making the Inhabitants Priſoners of War. Suc yielded he treated mildly, others he put to the Sw and the *Volſci* now ſo admir'd his extraordinary C rage and Conduct, that they left their Towns flocking in great Numbers to him, and owning for their ſole Commander. At *Rome* there was thing but Confuſion and Deſpair, and all the ples Satisfaction was by venting their Rage ag one another; but ſoon after, when News was bro that *Lavinium* was inveſted, the Commons all out, *That* Coriolanus *was to be reſtor'd, and his B ment repeal'd.* The Senate utterly refus'd to a to this, either out of deſire to oppoſe the People things, or out of Scorn to have his Reſtoration bed to the Commons, or elſe out of a juſt Indi tion againſt *Coriolanus*, who was now becam open Enemy to all his Country in general.

Coriolanus underſtanding the Diſſentions of the ty, immediately roſe up from before *Lavinium*, advancing towards *Rome*, encamp'd at *Clulius's* five Miles from the City. This ſtruck the *R* with ſuch a Terror, that now both Senate and ple unanimouſly agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors to with Propoſals of Reſtoration. The Ambaſſ behav'd themſelves with all poſſible Reſpect;

nſtanding which, and their being *Patritians*, and choiceſt Friends, he received 'em with all the nneſs and Severity of a moſt injur'd Perſon; and Council of War made Anſwer, *That if they hop'd Peace, they muſt immediately reſtore all the Towns and itories taken from the* Volſci; *and make 'em Free of City as the* Latins *were; and for that he wou'd give thirty Days to conſider of it. And this he ſpoke as he General of the* Volſci, *and not as he was a* Roman, *atefully us'd, and barbarouſly treated by his own Coun-nen.* This ſpace of time he employ'd in ſubdu-ſeven great and ſtrong Towns; and at the end of nother Ambaſſy was diſpatch'd to him, declaring, *they were ſtill* Romans, *and that neither Conſtraint Fear ſhould influence their Souls to ſtoop to any thing that ſe, but deſire him to draw off his Troops, and conſult mmon. And that if he thought the* Volſci *were to be ſy'd, they wou'd yield to him, provided they would lay their Arms. Coriolanus*, a little more moderate, re-d, *That now he behav'd himſelf not as a General of the* ſci, *but as a* Roman *Citizen, and deſir'd, that having ſpect to Intereſt and Moderation, they wou'd return in days with a Grant of his former Demands, or elſe he proceed in his Enterprize.* The Senate being re-d to this Extremity, their Courages began to fail and as their laſt Remedy, order'd all the *Pon-s, Prieſts, Governours* of Religious Houſes, and *urs*, all in their proper Ornaments and Habits, to n ſolemn Proceſſion, and humbly to beg for an ommodation. But this Pompous Train, with heir earneſt Prayers and Supplications, did not he leaſt move *Coriolanus*; he ſtill inſiſting, That *ſhou'd either accept of his Propoſals, or elſe they muſt t the utmoſt Severity of War and Bloodſhed.*

Upon the return of the Prieſts, the whole City full of Tumults, Trembling, and Amazement, the n running in Diſorder to the Walls, and the Wo-in Confuſion to the Temples, eſpecially to that of

Jupiter

Jupiter in the *Capitol.* Among which, was *Va*
Poplicola's Sister, who put 'em in mind of going t
turia, Coriolanus's Mother, with his Wife *Volumn*
get them to intercede for their Country. *Veturi*
very ready to undertake so pious a Work, tho'
little hopes of succeeding; and thereupon set for
accompany'd with many of these Ladies, her Da
ter-in-law, and her two Grand-Children. *Cori*
discovering this mournful Company, fully resol
give 'em a Denial; but perceiving his Mother a
'em, immediately descended from his Tribunal,
went to meet her; courteously receiving her wi
Wife and Children, and carefully listning to her
tion, which she urg'd with all the Skill and Rhet
she cou'd, from the consideration of the *impending*
of his Country, and of the certain Infamy which he wou'd
if victorious, and the unavoidable Dishonour he wou'd dr
if he were successless in his Attempts. But this no
vailing, she put him in mind, *How much the S*
Ties of Nature and Religion, together with her most
Education of him in her Widowhood, had engag'd h
Obedience, or at least to a Compliance: Declaring
wise, *That he shou'd not stir one Foot towards the tr*
down of his Country, without first trampling upon th
Body of her who brought him into the World. A
conclusion, with his Wife and Children, cast he
at his Feet, embracing and kissing 'em, which
the lamentable Sighs and Tears of the fair Trai
far mov'd his great Spirit, that lifting 'em up,
embracing 'em, he cry'd, O *Mother, you have gai*
Victory, most fortunate for my Country, but most destruc
my self; and accordingly drew off the *Volsci* into
own Country. *Tullus*, who now envy'd his G
represented this Act to the *Volsci* as the highest
of Treason against 'em, and procur'd him to b
in pieces, scarce allowing him to speak for himse
Dionysius relates it. This was against the Consen
the greatest part of the *Volsci*, who bury'd him ho

y, adorning his Tomb with Arms and Trophies great General, and a famous Warriour, and the *on* Women themſelves were permitted to mourn him ten Months, all acknowledging him to be the t Valiant and moſt Courageous Man in this Age.

I. Great and many Publick Rejoicings were e at *Rome* for *Coriolanus*'s Retreat, and the Senate eed to grant the Women what Honours they 'd demand; but they only deſir'd to have a Chap- dedicated to *Woman's Fortune*, built in the ſame e where they had deliver'd their Country, which done at the Publick Charge. The Conſuls ſoon took the Field with a conſiderable Army, but no occaſion to uſe it; for the *Volſci* and *Æqui* ing Forces, had ſuch violent Conteſts about a eral, as they almoſt ruin'd each other. The Year wing the new Conſuls, *Aquilius* and *Sicinius*, o- hrew one the *Hernici*, and the other the *Volſci*, a- g whom fell *Tullus* their General. The next , the Conſuls, *Virginius* and *Caſſius* took the Field, *Æqui* falling to the former, as the *Volſci* and *Her-* did to the latter: But the *Volſci* immediately 'd Peace, having loſt their beſt Men in the laſt el; as ſoon after did the *Hernici*, who now re- any longer to contend with the *Romans* for Su- ority. *Caſſius* having receiv'd Money and Provi- from 'em, as Perſons who own'd themſelves quer'd, made a Truce, but referr'd the Articles to Senate. But the Fathers, after reſolving to accept eir Alliance, left the Conditions of the League *ſſius*'s Diſcretion; who now affecting Sovereign- nd deſiring Popularity, granted 'em equal Privi- with the *Latins*, which together with his Tri- h lately obtain'd without performing any thing t, procur'd him much Envy and Hatred. *U. C.* 266.

ſſius now grown inſolent by his three Conſulſhips, his two Triumphs, was reſolv'd to puſh on his Deſign *U. C.* 268.

Design of Sovereignty; and the more to gain Favour of the People, propos'd the Division of late conquer'd Lands among the meaner sort, together with such Publick Grounds, which thro' Neglect of the Magistrates had been seiz'd on by Rich. Then he recounted to the People his Services to the State under his three Consulships, insinuating, *That his extraordinary Care and wise Management in those Times, had shewn him no less than Governour; and that since he had already taken charge the Common-wealth, it was but just and reasonable he shou'd continue to do it.* This Speech, tho' so strongly favouring of Tyranny, wou'd have been far more serviceable to him, had he not brought in the *Latini* and the *Hernici* as Sharers in these Lands, which he did to gain their Favours, tho' with the weakening his Interest with the Common-People. This Proposal concerning the Lands, met with many Opposions in the Senate, created Fears and Jealousies among some, and caus'd various Discourses among others: But the Commons Forwardness, and the Disturbances that were like to follow, caus'd the Senate after many Debates, to publish *their Resolution for dividing the Lands among the Commons, withal excluding new Allies and Associates, as having no reason to expect Share of what was gain'd before their Times.* This was the famous *Agrarian* Law, which afterwards occasion'd such Mischiefs and Disturbances; but at present the Promise of it appeas'd the People, and ruin'd *Cassius*'s Designs: For the Year after his Consulship the *Quæstors* set a day to him to answer to the Charge of aiming at Tyranny, before the People; where he was accus'd of a multitude of Crimes of a high Nature; and notwithstanding his premeditated Oblations, his many Services, and the Intercession of his Friends and Clients in Mourning, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, and was streight executed accordingly.

Lex Agraria.

Soon after his Death, the Commons were very ur-
nt for the execution of the *Agrarian* Law, which
ſſius had ſet on foot; but the Senate being reſolv'd
divert it as much as poſſible, caus'd the Conſuls to
epare for an Expedition. The *Plebeians* inrag'd at
eir Diſappointment, and the Loſs of a Perſon
hom they expected to have been ſo ſerviceable to
m, refus'd to liſt themſelves, the *Tribunes* always
otecting 'em from Puniſhment; but the Name of
Dictator, and their ſuſpecting *Appius* to be the Man,
on frighted 'em into a Compliance; ſo *Cornelius*,
ne of the Conſuls, waſted the Territories of the *Vei-*
tes, as *Fabius* the other, did thoſe of the *Æqui*. Not
ng after, the Commons refuſing to liſt themſelves,
e Conſuls found means to ſit in the *Campus Martius*,
ut of the City, where the *Tribunes* had no Authori-
; and there they ſeverely puniſh'd and fin'd ſuch
did not appear, to the great Mortification of the
opular Faction. A third time the Conſuls gain'd
eir Deſigns, by getting over one of the *Tribunes* to
eir ſide; a way they were often forc'd to make uſe
afterwards. In the mean time, they had ſeveral
ars abroad with the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, and ſoon after
e *Veientes*; there being many Ravages on both ſides,
ith ſome Battels, but of no great Note or Conſe-
uence. At home were greater Conteſts and Quarrels
etween the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes* concerning this *Agra-*
an Law, the former always declining the execution
f it, and the latter as conſtantly urging it, but with
o other effect than the blowing up of Diſſentions,
nd the increaſing of Factions. And this was the trou-
leſome and unhappy State of *Rome* for about five
ears together, as may be ſeen at large in *Dionyſius*.

IV. In the midſt of theſe Troubles, when *Fabius* *U. C.*
nd *Virginius* were Conſuls, two Years after *Xerxes*'s 274.
xpedition into *Greece*, the *Veientes*, by the Aſſiſtance
f other of the *Hetrurians*, march'd with a powerful

Army againſt the *Romans*. *Virginius* oppos'd 'em w another, but was ſo overpower'd by 'em, that he loſt his Army, had not *Fabius* came from the *A* with timely Succour, and brought him off. Upon *Roman* Retreat, the *Veientes* made Incurſions almoſt the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Injury and Diſhon of the City; and what added more to their Incon niences, was the Lowneſs of the Treaſury, and Diſcontents of the People about the *Agrarian* La This reduc'd the Senate to very great Extremit till at laſt the whole Family of the *Fabii*, a no Stock, generouſly offer'd their Service to be a conſt Guard to the Frontiers, without any Charge to Publick, which was gratefully accepted by the Sen They were in number 306, which, with their C ents and Friends, made up 4000, all commanded *Marcus*, the laſt Year's Conſul; and to them was terwards ſent another Company and *Fabius* the p ſent Conſul. Theſe brave Adventurers fortif themſelves in a Caſtle, which they call'd *Cremera*, ſtanding upon a River of the ſame Name, nigh Frontiers of the *Veientes*, from which they made gr Incurſions, and extreamly annoy'd the Enemy. following Year, the *Veientes*, *Volſci*, and *Æqui*, all greeing upon an Invaſion, great Preparations we made by the Senate; *Æmilius* one Conſul, led an my againſt the *Veientes*, with whom was join'd *Bab* as *Pro-Conſul*; *Servilius* the other Conſul, led anot againſt the *Volſci*; and *Furius* a third, againſt *Æqui*. The latter ſoon finiſh'd his Work; *Servi* was forc'd to draw out the War at length; *Æmilius* engag'd the *Veientes* and their Allies, a overthrew 'em; then falling upon their Camp, for 'em to beg Peace; the Conditions of which bei left to his Diſcretion by the Senate, he made a Leag with 'em upon Terms ſo little advantageous to *Romans*, that they gain'd him much Hatred, and him the Honour of a Triumph; which ſo enra

n, that he immediately disbanded his Troops, leavouring ſtill more to incenſe the Commons inſt the Senate.

The Year following, when *Horatius* and *Menenius* re Conſuls, eleven Cities of *Hetruria* declar'd againſt *Veientes* for making Peace without their Conſent, l forc'd 'em to break it. Their Pretence againſt *ne* was, that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *mera*, upon which they advanc'd towards 'em with owerful Army; whereupon *Menenius* was order'd inſt *Hetruria*, and *Horatius* againſt the *Volſci*. The *ntes* not daring to attack this valiant Body of the *ii* in their Fortreſs, drew 'em out by a Stratagem, ſing ſeveral Herds of Cattel, and Flocks of Sheep e driven to the neighbouring Places, and laying eral great Parties in Ambuſcade. The Deſign took, l the *Fabian* Adventurers were all unfortunately off; tho' at firſt by forming themſelves into a dge, they gain'd the top of a Hill, and there tho' olly encompaſs'd, made an incredible Slaughter the Enemy. *Livy* ſays, That none of this Family *U. C.* s left, but only one young Lad, from whom after- *276.* rds ſprung *Fabius Maximus*; but *Dionyſius* much eſtions this Tradition. The *Veientes*, now Maſters *Cremera*, advanc'd boldly towards the *Roman* Ar-, which lay encamp'd not far off, and might have ev'd the *Fabii*: Then taking advantage of *Mene-*'s Unskilfulneſs, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of a l nigh his Camp; from whence they ſtreightned n ſo, that he was forc'd to fight upon very unequal rms, and his Army was much worſted. The *Ro-ns* quitted their Camp, and fled in ſuch Diſorder, t had the *Veientes* been mindful of any thing but nder, they might haye deſtroy'd 'em all. The xt Day they enter'd the *Roman* Territories, and ſſeſs'd themſelves of the Hill *Janiculus*, two Miles m *Rome*, to the great Damage and Diſgrace of the y: But *Horatius*, the other Conſul, returning from

the *Volsci*, overthrew 'em twice, and much e... the People, but cou'd not yet wholly diſlodge... Enemy.

The Year following, *Servilius* and *Virginius*, ... experienc'd Warriors, were made Conſuls, which g... great Hopes to the People, who were now extrea... ſtraitned for want of Corn and Trade, which ... the more felt by reaſon of the Populouſneſs of the ... ty; for at the next *Cenſe*, there appear'd to be 1100... Men of ripe Age, and three times as many Wom... Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers. ... People were ready upon every Opportunity to ſe... on the Stores of the Rich; and the Conſuls end... vour'd to appeaſe 'em by buying what Corn ... cou'd, and cauſing ſuch as had Corn to expoſe ... Sale, till their Levies and Troops were compleat... When they had rais'd a ſufficient Number of M... one Night they drew out their Troops from the C... towards the Enemy, and paſſing the River be... day, unexpectedly fell upon 'em, entirely routed ... and clear'd the Hill, they retiring in great Diſor... to their own Territories. This Campagne end... *Menenius*, the laſt Year's Conſul, was call'd to an ... count, and ſeverely fin'd for ſuffering the *Fabii* to ... cut off, whom the People ſo gratefully eſteem'd, ... they plac'd the Day of their Defeat among the ... *faſti*, or unlucky Days, whereon no Work of g... conſequence was to be undertaken. The War ... ſtill carry'd on, and within two Years after, the ... *entes* were ſo overpower'd, having been overthr... in Battel, together with their Confederates the *Sab*... and now cloſely hemm'd in, that they begg'd Pe... of the *Romans*: And having purchas'd leave to ſ... to the Senate, with a whole Year's Pay for the C... ſuls Army, and Money for two Months Provi... they obtain'd a Truce for forty Years. Thus en... the War with the *Veientes* after ſeven Years Cont... on both ſides.

V. T...

V. The following Year, *Æmilius* and *Vopiſcus* being *U. C.*
onſuls, the old Stirs about the *Agrarian* Law were 280.
viv'd by *Genatius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who boldly
a Day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the laſt Year's Con-
s, to anſwer before the People why they did not
ide the Lands. This Quarrel had like to have
en fatal to the City, had not *Genutius*'s ſudden death
evented it; after which, the Sedition might have
en quite appeas'd, had the Conſuls born their Suc-
s with Moderation: But, making new Levies, they
er'd to force one *Volero*, a turbulent Fellow, and
merly an Officer, to liſt himſelf for a common
ldier, and upon his refuſing, they order'd him to
ſtripp'd and ſcourg'd. But *Volero* fled to the *Tri-*
nes, who protected him, and violently exclaim'd
ainſt the Tyranny of the Conſuls. This diverted
e People from the Thoughts of Lands, and rais'd
w Quarrels concerning Privileges and Liberty.
d the Year after, *Volero* getting to be one of the
ibunes himſelf, the more to retrench the Conſular
wer, propos'd a Law for holding the Aſſemblies of
ibes inſtead of that of the *Curiæ*, call'd *Comitia Cu-*
ta; which was ſo contriv'd as to take in greater
umbers, and to give the Commons much more Pri-
ege and Power than formerly. This Propoſal
as much urg'd by the *Plebeians*, but ſo ſtrongly op-
s'd by the *Patricians*, that *Volero* cou'd not accom-
iſh his Deſign before his Time was expir'd.

The next Year *Volero*, by his mighty Promiſes, pro-
r'd himſelf to be made *Tribune* a ſecond time; and
e Senate to balance him, got *Appius Claudius*, the Son
Appius now abſent, to be made Conſul, tho' againſt
s Will, and with him *Quintius Capitolinus*, who hapned
be of a contrary Temper. *Appius* in a Publick Aſ-
mbly oppos'd the Commons Deſigns ſo hotly and
olently, and ſo ſharply reprimanded them for their
ude Actions and ſeditious Practices, that the *Tribunes*
ucily commanded him to depart the Aſſembly;

and upon his Refusal, to be sent to Prison. T piece of Boldness was so surprizing to the Fath that all were ready to rise up in Arms, and the Li were beaten back that went to lay hands on hi he being defended by a company of stout you Men, an unseemly Contest ensu'd, which beginn with Railings and Jostlings, proceeded to Blows a throwing of Stones. But *Quintius*, the other Cons by his Intreaties, and throwing himself into t middle, and by the help of the graver Senato prevented the Tumult from proceeding to any f ther Inconveniences, which was ended shortly af by the Night. But all Disturbances did not c here; for within a few days after, the *Tribunes* the People seiz'd on the *Capitol*, and there forti themselves against the *Patritians*. This might ha been of the most dangerous consequence, had n *Quintius* by his mild Intreaties and fair Promises p

U. C. 282. suaded the *Tribunes* to refer this Law to the Sena Discretion; which after many long Debates, p mitted it to be put to the *Comitia*, and so it w pass'd.

Comitia Tributa. This was call'd the *Comitia Tributa*, where all t Free *Romans* voted according to their *Tribes*; Whe as in the *Comitia Curiata*, none cou'd vote but Inh bitants of *Rome*; in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the ri Men had the Advantage, by reason of their Nu ber of *Centuries*; but in this *Comitia Tributa*, there w no respect of either of these Qualifications, but Free *Romans* in or without the City, Poor or Ric might have Voices. Another difference between t and the *Curiata Comitia*, was the Place of Assembl that being ty'd to the *Comitium* in the *Forum Rom num*, and that with the Superstitious Observations Birds, call'd *Auspicia*; but this *Tributa* was ty'd to set Place, being assembl'd in a great many sever without any Observation of Birds. But the most m terial Difference between these two *Comitia's*, w

this

s; in this *Curiata* ſuch things were treated of, and nfirm'd by the Suffrages of the *Curiæ*, as the *Senate* d firſt decreed; but in the *Tributa*, all things were nag'd without any conſulting of the *Senate*, and re wholly determin'd by the Votes of the *Tribes* ga-r'd apart. The Matters that were manag'd here, re chiefly, *The chuſing of inferior Magiſtrates, as the* ibunes, Ædiles, Prieſts, *&c. making of thoſe Laws* l'd Plebiſcita, *or whatſoever ſhould concern the Commons*; *alſo the Puniſhment of Miſdemeanours*, but not as to fe and Death; *and the making Peace*, but not War. his new Law gave the Commons ſtill more Power d Authority, and made 'em ſtill more bold and ſolent, to the danger of many a *Patritian*, and to e Ruin of *Appius*, whoſe ill Succeſs againſt the *ſci* this ſame Year, and his violent oppoſing the *rarian* Law the next, made the *Tribunes* ſet him a ay to anſwer for his Life before the People, which prevented by killing himſelf.

VI. Still the *Romans* had War with the *Æqui*, *Sa-* *U. C.*
nes, and *Volſci*, and had generally the Advantage. 284.
rom the *Volſci* was taken *Antium*, a conſiderable City n the Sea, 28 Miles *South-Eaſt* of *Rome*, which they ade a *Roman* Colony. For nine Years together, none theſe got any conſiderable Advantage over the *Ro-ans*; tho' in the midſt of theſe Wars, there hapned moſt grievous Plague in *Rome*, which ſwept away innumerable Company of the Slaves, a fourth art of the Senators, both the Conſuls, and moſt of e *Tribunes*. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* were at laſt much eakned, their Territories greatly waſted, and *Lucre-us* and *Veturius*, the Conſuls, obtain'd one a *Triumph*, nd the other an *Ovation* over 'em. The Year after this, nd of the City 292, *Volumnius* and *Camerinus*, the Con-ls, having no Action abroad, employ'd themſelves home againſt the exorbitant Power of the *Tribunes*, ho were now got to that height of Boldneſs as to

assert, *That the Citizens ought all to have equal Po... in the Government*; they likewise made great Co... plaints, that the *Roman* Laws were yet unwritten, a... thereupon propos'd a Law to have ten Men cho... in a lawful Assembly, to publish Laws, both concer... ing all Private and Publick Business. The young P... *tritians* furiously oppos'd their Designs, casting t... meaner sort like Slaves out of the *Forum*. Amo... these, *Cæso Quintius*, the Son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, w... Principal, a Person of great Courage, whom the T... *bunes* resolv'd to make an Example to all young M... and therefore set him a Day to answer for his Life b... fore the People, which caus'd new Stirs and Comm... tions. *Cæso* being admitted to Bail, fled into *Hetru...* whereupon his Father sold almost all his Estate to... imburse the Sureties, and then retreating to a sm... Farm, and a little Cottage beyond the *Tiber*, liv'd reti... from the World, laboriously working for his Living.

The *Tribunes* were much deceiv'd in their Expect... tions, and the young *Patritians* so hotly oppos'd 'e... that they cou'd act nothing of consequence this Co... sulship. The next Year the same *Tribunes* being ch... sen again, they caus'd various Rumours to be spre... abroad, *That many of the* Senators *and* Patritians h... *form'd a Plot, and conspir'd to murther the* Tribunes, a... *ruine all the Authority of the* Plebeians. This Contrivan... was design'd to fright the Senate into a Complianc... but had no other Effects than the causing great T... mults and Disturbances among the Commons. The... Troubles were so great as to give occasion to *Her...*
U. C. 293. *nius*, a *Sabine*, with 4000 Men to seize on the Ca... *tol*, calling in the Slaves to their Liberty, which p... the whole City into a great Consternation, all bein... in a Confusion. *Valerius* and *Claudius* were then Con... suls, and the *Tribunes* persuaded the Multitude not t... fight, except the *Patritians* wou'd engage by Oath t... create Ten Men for making of Laws, and suffer th... Commons to have equal Privileges with 'em. *Cla...*

wou'd have wholly ſlighted their Aſſiſtance, but *rius* finding ſuch preſſing neceſſity for 'em, pro- d upon Oath to endeavour to ſatisfie the Deſire of Commons when the War was ended. Whereup- *Claudius* was appointed to look to the City, and *rius* valiantly attack'd the *Capitol* on all ſides, and k it by Storm, but with the Loſs of his Life; the es being puniſh'd according to their Deſerts, and reſt made Priſoners of War.

This War finiſh'd, the *Tribunes* requir'd *Claudius* to e good the Promiſe of his deceas'd Collegue; but lledg'd, *He cou'd do nothing himſelf,* and appoint- he *Comitia* for the chuſing a new Conſul. The hers the better to ſupport their Intereſt, reſolv'd n *Quintius Cincinnatus,* Father to *Cæſo* lately fled; immediately ſent for him to the City. The ſſengers found him hard at Plow, only in his ſs, and a Cap on his Head; but being told of r coming, by a *Viator* that ran before, he preſen- himſelf in a better Habit. Being ſaluted by the ne of *Conſul,* inveſted with Purple, honour'd by *Faſces* and other Enſigns of Magiſtracy, he was de- to begin his Journey; but after a little Pauſe he wer'd with Tears, *Then for this Year my poor little d muſt go unſown, and we ſhall be in danger of Want.* er this, taking his leave of his Wife, he departed he City. There *Quintius* partly by Cunning, and tly by Threats reſtrain'd the *Tribunes* from prefer- g the Law, and carry'd himſelf ſo as to be a rror to the Multitude whenever they refus'd to themſelves, and their greateſt Encourager when ir Behaviour was ſuch as deſerv'd it. He per- n'd his Office with that Prudence and Juſtice, l likewiſe with that Civility and Courteſy, that Commons were now of Opinion, that they od in no need of new Laws: Then having iſh'd his Conſulſhip, he, to the Concern of the ole Senate, betook himſelf to his little Cot-

tage,

tage, and his former laborious course of Life. T
Year following, the *Æqui* surpriz'd *Tusculum*,
were worsted by the *Romans*, together with t
Friends the *Volsci*, and were forc'd to beg Pea
And in this Year there were found 119000 Free C
tizens, according to *Eutropius*.

In the next Consulship the *Æqui* and *Volsci* w
drawn to revolt by *Gracchus Clælius*, a ruling M
among 'em, who by his Industry so hemm'd in
block'd up the *Roman* Army, that it was in great d
ger of being lost. This put the City into a gr
Consternation, so that they were glad to have recou
to a *Dictator*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus* was immedia
Dict. iv. ly resolv'd upon. The Messengers found him swe
U. C. ing and labouring as before; but he seeing him
295. made *Dictator* by the 24 *Axes*, the Purple, the Hor
and other Royal *Ensigns*, was so far from being ple
with the Honour, that he said with great Conce
This Year's Crop will also be lost, and my poor Family
be starv'd. At his entring the City, he encoura
the People what he cou'd, and chose *Tarquinius*
his *Master of the Horse*; then drawing out his Troo
he fell upon *Clælius* and forc'd him into his Intrenc
ments; and besieging him a while, brought his wh
Army to his Mercy, who were forc'd to yield at D
cretion. They were all made Prisoners of War;
in token of Servitude, *Quintius* made 'em pass un
Jugum. the *Jugum*, which was two Spears set up, with a th
cross, like a Gallows; and likewise made 'em deli
up *Corbio*. He order'd the choicest Plunder for *R*
and the rest to be given to his Soldiers; then return
to the City with a more magnificent Triumph th
any before him, having defeated a powerful Arm
and plunder'd and fortify'd a City of the Enem
within fourteen Days after his Creation. He i
mediately resign'd his Office, and when the Sen
and his private Friends wou'd have enrich'd him wi
Publick Lands, Plunder and Contributions, he
ref

y refus'd all, betaking himſelf again to his Cot-
e, and his old courſe of Life; which is one great
ance of the Abſtinence of the *Romans* at that
e. The Year following the *Sabines* with the *Æ-*
retook *Corbio*, againſt whom, when Levies were
e made, the *Tribunes*, who were all created a
rth time, withſtood them again. Whereupon
Fathers with weeping Eyes, made uſe of En-
ties, offering to go in their own Perſons if they
s'd; which ſo ſenſibly mov'd the People, *That*
promis'd all manner of Obedience, if they wou'd per-
the Number of their Tribunes to be encreas'd to Ten: *Tribunes*
ich the Senate, after ſome Debates, granted; encreas'd.
ſonably ſuppoſing, that their Number would *U. C.*
ve the moſt probable means to divide 'em; but 296.
n with this *Proviſo*, as *Livy* ſays, *That they ſhould*
er chuſe the ſame Tribunes *twice*. This done, Le-
s were made, and a ſucceſsful War was carried on
inſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

VII. The Domeſtick Troubles ſeem'd for a while *U. C.*
e allay'd, but in a Year's time, the *Tribunes* uni- 297.
g all together, made farther Incroachments than
r, and ventur'd ſo far as to aſſemble the Senate
their own proper Authority; moreover requiring
unt *Aventine* for the People to build on, which
ng a Mile and half in compaſs, was not yet ful-
nhabited, but Common, and full of Wood. The
nate after moſt violent Quarrels on both ſides, out
hopes it might be a means to ſuppreſs the *Agrari-*
Seditions, granted thoſe Parts that were Common
the People, who ſpent the remaining part of the
ar in Building, to the conſiderable Encreaſe of the
y. This Grant ſatisfy'd the Commons but for a
rt time; for the next Year their former Complaints
re renew'd, and carry'd on with all the violent
ats and Animoſities that cou'd be imagin'd, often
ceeding to Blows; till at laſt the *Tribunes* having
thrown

thrown off all Reſpect and Reverence, inſolently a Day to the Conſuls themſelves to anſwer before People. But this appear'd ſo odious to many, they were prevail'd upon to let ſuch a Matter as being moſt dangerous both to themſelves, and whole State of *Rome*. But at the ſame time made a firm Reſolution to prefer the *Agrarian* which they agreed to do in the next Aſſembly, for that reaſon they appointed a Day apart for *Comitia*.

At this Aſſembly were gather'd together Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities; where *Tribunes* having ſpoken very largely on that Sub ſeveral of the *Plebeians* related what good Ser they had done the Common-wealth, and how Reward they had for their Pains; among wh was *Siccius Dentatus*, a Man of admirable Shape Courage, 58 Years of Age, and well furniſh'd Military Eloquence for a Seditious Attempt, told 'em, *He had ſerv'd his Country in the Wars forty Y had been an Officer thirty, firſt a Centurion, then a Trib had fought one hundred and twenty Battels, in which the Force of his ſingle Arm, he had ſav'd many Pa tians Lives, recover'd ſeveral Standards, perform'd m great and dangerous Exploits, gain'd* 14 *Civick Cro* 3 *Mural Crowns, and* 8 *Golden Crowns; beſides* 83 *den Chains,* 60 *Golden Bracelets,* 18 *pure Spears,* 23 *Horſe-Trappings, whereof* 9 *were for killing Ene challeng'd to ſingle Combats; moreover he had receiv'd Wounds, all before, and none behind, particularly tw in that Day the* Capitol *was recover'd: Yet notw ſtanding he had fought ſo many Years, ſerv'd in ſo m Expeditions, receiv'd ſo many Wounds, help'd to ga many large Territories for his Country, and had ſpar'd Coſt or Labour, nor refus'd any Danger or Difficulty; neither he, nor any of his Fellow-ſharers in his Dangers, receiv'd the leaſt Portion of thoſe Lands they had gain'd their Swords, but that they were poſſeſs'd by others who*

the leaſt Title or Merit to ſhew for 'em; and to ſuch too, ſe private Attempts, and ſiniſter Ends, better entitl'd to a diſgraceful Puniſhment, than to any Publick Re-d. These Particulars he urg'd at large, withal uſing the *Patritians* of many Deſigns againſt the vileges of the People, and the Publick Peace of City; which he did with ſuch Rhetorick and nning, that the Commons were almoſt tranſport-with the Man. Yet ſtill the *Patritians* by their nderful Prudence and cautious Management, tho' h extream Hazard to themſelves, ſo far defeated ir Deſigns, that the Law cou'd not be paſs'd.

Theſe Diſturbances were a little diverted by the emies March as far as *Tuſculum*, againſt whom *Sic-* went a Volunteer, where the Conſuls put him n a moſt deſperate Attempt, which gain'd him the heſt Honour, inſtead of procuring his Ruin, as they gin'd it wou'd have done. A notable Victory was n'd over the *Æqui* by his means, and he reveng'd nſelf upon the Conſuls, by preventing their Tri-ph this Year, and by getting 'em fin'd the next, en he himſelf was made one of the *Tribunes*. Upon *U. C.* ich a Law paſs'd in the *Centuriata Comitia*, That *299.* *Magiſtrates ſhould have Power to puniſh ſuch as violated r Authority* (which before was only the Privilege the Conſuls) *but not by any Fine exceeding two Oxen, hirty Sheep*; which Law was long obſerv'd by the *nans*. This new Law pleas'd the People, and all w being a little more moderate, the whole Body of *ne* began to conſider of Ways and Methods to ſet-the Government more firmly, and to prevent all ngerous Feuds for the future; thereupon it was reed, That Ambaſſadors ſhou'd be ſent to the *Greek* ies in *Italy*, and to *Athens*, to bring ſuch Laws m thence as were moſt excellent, and moſt con-nient for the Good of the Common-wealth.

For this great Deſign, *Poſthumius*, *Sulpicius*, and *nlius* were fix'd upon, and Gallies aſſign'd for their

uſe,

uſe, ſuitable to the Majeſty of the *Roman* People. T
Year following, there hapned a great Famine, a
moſt grievous Plague, to the great damage of the
ty: And the Year after, the Ambaſſadors return'd
of *Greece* with their Laws, preſently after which
Tribunes requir'd, that Law-makers might be appo
ed; and after many grave and prudent Debates,
ſome Oppoſition, it was granted. The Method
they all agreed upon, was, *That Ten Men out of the*
of the Senate, ſhou'd be elected, whoſe Power continuing
Year, ſhou'd be the ſame with that of Kings and Conſuls,
that without any Appeal; that all other Magiſtracies
lay down their Authorities till they might be renew'd
cording to the Laws. This was agreed on by the *Se*
and confirm'd by the People; and the *Conſuls* el
immediately reſigning their Office, were made pa
the *Decemvirate*; and alſo the *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, *Que*
&c. were diveſted of all Power and Authority. T
was a moſt remarkable Change of Government,
great as that from Kings to Conſuls, and was the
cond ſort of Intermiſſion of the *Conſular Power*, wh
hapned in the ſecond Year of the 82d *Olympiad*,
Years after the Building of the City, 57 after
Baniſhment of *Tarquin*, 30 after *Xerxes*'s Expedi
into *Greece*, and 450 before our Saviour's Nativity

CHAP. IV.

From the Creation of the Decemviri, *to the Third Intermiſſion of the* Conſular Pow *by the* Military Tribunes.

Containing the Space of 8 *Years.*

U. C. 302. *Decemviri.*

I. THE Ten Perſons choſen by the *Centuriata Co tia* for this high Office, were *Appius* and *nutius*, the late Conſuls elect; *Poſthumius*, *Sulpitius*, a
Ma

ulius, the three Ambaſſadors; *Sextus* and *Romulius*, mer Conſuls; with *Julius*, *Veturius*, and *Horatius*, Senators. Theſe being inveſted with almoſt ab-te Power, agreed that only one of them at one e, ſhou'd have the *Faſces* and other *Conſular Enſigns*, which they were to ſucceed by turns, for a cer- limited time, till the Year came about. And he oſe turn it was for the time being, aſſembl'd the ate, confirm'd the Decrees, and did all other gs that belong'd to a Chief Magiſtrate to do; reſt, to avoid Envy and Suſpicion, differ'd little Habit from private Perſons, having only an *Ac-us*, or a ſort of a Beadle going before 'em. Theſe at Men for a time manag'd all things with ſuch ice and Moderation, that the Common-wealth n'd moſt happy under 'em; and *Appius* above the grew exceeding popular, carrying away the f Praiſe from the whole College, having indeed ter, and more ſecret Deſigns than the reſt. At gth, having made a Model out of ſuch Laws as e brought from *Greece* and their own Countries ſtoms, they expos'd 'em to the View of all Men, en Tables, that any one might make Exceptions. en all were approv'd of, a *Senatus Conſultum* paſs'd *ne contradicente*, for the ratifying of theſe Laws; the Queſtion being put to the People in the *uriata Comitia*, they were moſt Religiouſly and emoniouſly confirm'd in the Preſence of the *Pon-s*, *Augurs*, and *Prieſts*; then they were ingraven raſs (ſome ſay Ivory) and plac'd for publick View he moſt conſpicuous Parts of the *Forum*.

The Year being almoſt expir'd, the *Decemviri* mov'd Senate for a Continuance of this Office; and after t Debate, it was reſolv'd by them, to have the e kind of Magiſtracy for the following Year, be-ſe ſomething ſeem'd yet wanting to the new Mo-; but eſpecially becauſe this Office ſuſpended the *uneſhip*, which had been an intolerable Burden to the

the State. A *Comitia* was appointed on purpose, w
the moſt Antient and Honourable of the Pa
ſtood for this Office, fearing if it fell into the han
turbulent Perſons, it might prove very dangero
the Peace of the Common-wealth. *Appius* had
gain'd the Hearts of the People, and his Behaviou
Actions were extoll'd to the Skies, therefore the
bour'd earneſtly to retain him in his Place; b
cunningly deſir'd to be excus'd the undertaking
a troubleſom and ungrateful Work. But at laſt,
come as it were by the Entreaties of the People
plac'd himſelf among the *Candidates*; where by a
ty Inſinuation of his own Services, and a malic
Accuſation of the other *Patritians*, as owing h
ſpite for his publick Spirit, he not only made wa
himſelf, but for his Friends too. He procur'd to be
ſen with himſelf, *Fabius*, a former Conſul; *Cor*
Servilius, *Minucius*, *Antonius* and *Rabulius*, all *Patri*
and *Petilius*, *Duellius* and *Oppius*, all *Plebeians*; w
he took in, the more to ingratiate himſelf wit
Rabble, ſaying, *It was very juſt that the Commons*
have a Share in that Magiſtracy which was to gover
command all.

On the firſt Day after their Creation, they all
their Appearance with Regal Enſigns, which exc
ingly terrifi'd the People, eſpecially the *Axes*
added again to the *Rods*, which *Poplicola* had
aſide, to prevent the Diſſatisfaction of the Com
Sort. The firſt thing the *Decemviri* did, was
promiſing each other by Oath, *To be of one M*
to retain the Power in their own hands; to be of equa
thority among themſelves; and to admit none
their Number; never to make uſe of Senatus Co
tums *and* Plebiſcitums, *but in caſe of neceſſity,*
moſt things by vertue of their own Power. Theſe t
they obſerv'd with great exactneſs; nothing va
the *Roman* Senate and People; and exerciſing
Authority with all Licentiouſneſs: By which m

came to paſs, that they being both Legiſlators and dges, many Citizens were unjuſtly put to Death, d others illegally depriv'd of their Eſtates; whoſe uſes they all formerly judg'd, that they might ake the greater Shew and Pretence of Juſtice. Ac- ſers were ſuborn'd out of their Dependents, each e affording all Aſſiſtance herein to his Collegue; d ſuch private Perſons as had Suits depending, had other way to ſecure their Cauſes, but by join- g themſelves with the Judges Party, ſo that in a ort time moſt of the Citizens were alſo corrupted. nd ſuch as were moſt offended at the Extravagan- of the *Decemviri*'s Actions, withdrew themſelves, iting for a new Creation of Magiſtrates.

One very memorable thing was done by 'em this ear, which was, their adding two Tables of Law to e ten that were made the Year before; whereof e forbad all Marriages between the *Patritians* and *ebeians*. Theſe two, together with the other ten, al- ays went by the Name of the *Laws of the Twelve bles*, being much talk'd of by many Authors, and tremely commended by *Cicero*, as containing Mat- rs of the greateſt Policy, and excelling the Libraries all the Philoſophers. They were divided into three rts, whereof the firſt contain'd what belong'd to the eligion of the *Romans*; the ſecond what concern'd e Publick, and the third the Rights of private Per- ns. Theſe Laws being eſtabliſh'd, it neceſſarily fol- w'd, that Diſputations and Controverſies wou'd a- ſe, which requir'd the Interpretation, and Determi- tion of the Learned: Now this Interpretation, or is unwritten Law fram'd by the Learned, was call'd the common Name of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*. Beſides, certain Caſes were compos'd out of theſe Laws moſt at the ſame time; which Caſes, leſt the Peo- e ſhou'd make 'em at their Pleaſure, were to be cer- in and ſolemn; and this part of Law was call'd *ctiones Juris*, or *Caſes at Law*: So that almoſt at the

U. C. 303.

The Twelve Tables.

Jus Civile.

Actiones Juris.

ſame time aroſe theſe three ſorts of Law; namely the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, call'd barely *Leges*, the *Civil Law*, and the *Caſes at Law*. The reſt of the *Roman* Laws that were either before or after these, according to *Pomponius*, were of theſe ſorts; namely a *Plebiſcitum*, made by the Commons without the Authority of the Fathers; or an *Edict* of a Magiſtrate call'd *Jus Honorarium*; or an Ordinance of the Senate by their ſole Authority, call'd *Senatus Conſultum*; or, laſtly, that call'd *Principalis Conſtitutio*, which was enacted by the Prince or the Emperor.

Plebiſcitum.
Jus Honorarium
Senatus-Conſultum
Principalis Conſtitutio

But to return to the *Decemviri*, who now neither regarded the Approbation of Senate nor People but in a meer Arbitrary Way, continu'd themſelves in Power for the Year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*. They ſo manag'd the Affairs that in a ſhort time even the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, *Patritians* and others, were either murther'd or forc'd to quit the City. At the ſame time the *Sabines* and *Æqui* began to invade the *Roman* and *Latin* Territories, which did not a little ſtartle the *Decemviri*, because they found no means of Reſiſtance without first aſſembling the Senate, which had been laid aſide for ſome conſiderable time. At this preſſing Juncture the Senate was at laſt call'd, where *Appius* in a premeditated Oration propounded the Buſineſs of the War. Upon which, *Valerius* the Grandſon of *Poplicola*, firſt ſtood up, and, tho' *Appius* commanded him to forbear, violently exclaim'd againſt the Tyranny of the preſent Uſurpers. He being forc'd to Silence, was ſeconded by *Marcus Horatius*, Grandſon of *Poplicola*'s Colegue, who having expreſs'd great Indignation against the *Decemviri*, threatned to have him caſt headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock. All the Senators exclaim'd againſt this, as the higheſt Breach of their Privileges and an intolerable piece of Injuſtice: Whereat the Ten, a little repenting this Raſhneſs, began to excuſe themſelves, ſaying, *They hinder'd none of the Liberty of ſpeaki-*

peaking to the matter propounded, but interrupted all Sedi-ious Orations, which they might do by the Power of Con-uls and Tribunes *receiv'd from the People, not for a Year, r any limited time, but till the great Work of the Laws ou'd be finiſh'd; until which they were reſolv'd to act, and ou'd then give an Account of their Adminiſtration.*

The Deſign of Tyranny and Slavery, too openly ppear'd under this Veil; whereupon *Claudius, Appius's* Uncle, ſtood up, and very handſomly expos'd the Ar-itrary and Tyrannical Carriage of his Nephew and ine Companions; plainly demonſtrating that this Var was ſolely occaſion'd by the preſent Diſtempers f the State; withal adviſing the Senators to reſolve othing till the accuſtom'd Magiſtrates were firſt reated. Many of the younger ſort were of Opi-ion, that the preſent Urgency requir'd the War to e committed to the Management of the *Decemviri*; nd others were for creating a *Dictator*, which Opi-ion had the moſt plauſible Appearance of any: So hat the Houſe was very much divided; many, out of ear either of the *Decemviri*, or the Enemies, having lter'd their firſt Intentions. *Appius* took Advantage f theſe Diviſions, and look'd upon his own Parties Votes as a ſufficient Determination; whereupon he mmediately commanded the Clerk to draw up a *Se-atus Conſultum*, whereby *full Power of levying Forces, and ommanding them, was given to the* Decemviri; and traight the *Senate* was diſmiſs'd, to the great diſſatisfa-tion of many. This new way of proceeding made *Horatius* and *Valerius* ſtand upon their own Defence, gathering together their Clients and Dependents; nd caus'd *Claudius* to go over to the *Sabines*, where he iv'd. And notwithſtanding all the Care and Provi-ion of the *Decemviri*, great Multitudes follow'd his Example, leaving their Native Seats, with their Wives nd Children, and went into a voluntary Exile.

II. The *Decemviri* divided their Army into three

Parts, whereof one continu'd with *Appius* and Opp in the City; and the other two were command by their Collegues, one againſt the *Æqui*, and t other againſt the *Sabines*. The *Æqui* forc'd the R *mans* to abandon their Camp, and fly ſhamefully which caus'd great Joy in *Rome* among the Enem of the *Decemviri*: So that *Appius* fearing ſome A tempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, to deſtr their known Adverſaries by any means, which w effected upon ſeveral. But at *Rome*, among many thers, *Siccius Dentatus*, the *Roman Achilles*, as he was c led, blam'd the Commanders as Cowards and unſki ful; whereupon *Appius* to ſecure him, with goo Words, perſuaded him to go as Lieutenant, or *Leg tus*, to the Army, then lying at *Cruſtumeria* againſt t *Sabines*. *Siccius* without any ſuſpicion or diſtruſt, u dertook the Employment; for the Office of *Legat* was moſt Sacred and Honourable among the *Roma* having the Power and Authority of a General, a the Inviolableneſs and Veneration of a Prieſt. Upo his Arrival at the Camp, he was ſent out with a Par of 100 Men, who had ſtrict Orders to murder him where he ſhew'd ſuch incredible Strength and Valou that he kill'd fifteen of 'em himſelf, and wounde twice as many, as *Dionyſius* relates it; ſo that at leng they were forc'd to throw Darts and Stones at hi keeping ſome diſtance, and by that means effect their Deſign. The Aſſaſſinates gave out that he f into the Enemies hands; but the Soldiers eaſily p ceiving the Villany, began to grow very mutinou and the *Decemviri* to appeaſe 'em, gave *Siccius* a ve Honourable Burial, which was perform'd with mu Ceremony, and an univerſal Sorrow among the S diers, who from that time thought upon nothing b a Revolt; which the other Army lying at *Algeti* againſt the *Æqui*, ſoon after found a fair Oppor nity to effect.

Legatus.

It was occaſion'd by one *Virginius* a *Plebeian*, wh h

d a Daughter of moſt admirable Beauty, and of as minent Chaſtity, whom *Appius* ſaw by chance, and as ſo extreamly ſmitten with her, that nothing ou'd allay his violent Paſſion. His own Laws had rbidden him marrying her, as being a *Plebeian*; or cou'd he hope to enjoy her any other way, but y procuring *Claudius*, one of his *Clients*, to challenge er for his Slave; ſo that the matter being brought be-re him, he might judge her to be ſo. *Claudius*, accor-ing to his Inſtructions, laid claim to her; and bring-g the matter to a Trial before *Appius*, he affirm'd *hat ſhe was Natural Daughter to his Slave, procur'd by irginius's Wife, being barren and now dead, and brought for her own; a thing tho' known to others as well as mſelf, he had no Opportunity till now to make it appear.* his Pretence was ſo impudent and groundleſs, that rais'd the Indignation of all unconcern'd Perſons; nd *Numitor*, the Maid's Uncle, with *Icilius*, who was ontracted to her, ſufficiently prov'd the Falſity of e Aſſertion. But *Appius*, reſolutely bent upon his ſtful and baſe Deſign, wou'd hear no Reaſon, nor ind any Proof; till at laſt the loud Cries and Mur-urs of the Multitude, prevail'd with him to defer e matter till her Father cou'd be ſent for from the amp to defend her Cauſe, for which he wou'd al-w but one Day. He immediately wrote to *Algedum* t the Camp to confine *Virginius*; but *Numitor* and *cilius*'s Brother intercepted the Letters, and *Virginius* retending the Death of a near Relation, got leave o leave the Camp, and came poſting to the City.

The next Day, *Virginius* appear'd at the Place, to he great ſurprize of *Appius*, he and his Daughter both n Mourning, accompany'd with ſeveral weeping Matrons, and a numerous Train of Advocates, the whole City crouding into the *Forum*. *Virginius* prov'd he Maid to be his own Daughter; but *Appius*, cor-upted by the Greatneſs of his Power, and inflam'd with the Heat of his Luſt, neither conſider'd the juſt

Defence of the Father, nor the bitter Tears of the poor Virgin; but was inrag'd at the Pity of the Standers-by, thinking himself a greater Object of Pity who endured more for her Beauty's sake than she herself did. He interrupted all that pleaded in her behalf commanding their Silence, and streight judg'd *Claudius* to be right Lord and Owner of her. Great Outcries and Lamentations being made, as well by others as the Virgin and her Relations, all knowing she was doom'd to the Tyrant's Lusts, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and order'd *Claudius* to take possession of his Slave. *Virginius* finding no relief, desir'd he might speak a word with his Daughter before he parted from her; which being granted, he dragg'd her hanging about him to a Butcher's Stall hard by, and pitifully bewailing her deplorable Condition; where catching a Knife in his hand, he said, *Daughter, I will send thee to our Ancestors both Free and Unspotted, for the mercilest Tyrant will suffer thee to be neither here*; and thereupon stabb'd her to the Heart: Then casting his angry Eyes up to the Tribunal, he cry'd out, *Appius, thou Tyrant, with this Blood I doom thee to certain Death!* With the bloody Knife in his Hand, in a great Rage and Fury, he ran through the City, wildly calling upon the People in all places to regain their Liberty; and coming to the Gate, rode post to the Army, a Company of 400 *Plebeians* following him.

In this posture *Virginius* arriv'd at the Camp, with the Knife and his Clothes all bloody; where with all his Rhetorick and pathetick Reasons he persuaded 'em *to revolt from the Ten, and redeem their sinking Country*; shewing 'em likewise, *That their* Sacramentum *or Military Oath, was no ways binding in this case, because the Oath suppos'd the Commanders to be made according to Law, which the Ten were not, having usurp'd all the Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to.* The Army, ready enough for such a Design, immediately decamp'd, some few *Centurions* only remaining, and took their Station on

Moun

lount *Aventine*; and the next day, fortifying their amp, choſe ten Captains, whereof one *Oppius* was hief: And ſoon after came great Parties from the her Army, who were much offended at the Mur-r of *Siccius*, and join'd them; and this was the ſe-ond Separation of the Commons. *Appius* in the mean me having endeavour'd by force to ſuppreſs the Di-urbances he had rais'd in the City, was ſo over-ower'd by the Parties of *Valerius* and *Horatius* for-erly mention'd, that he was forc'd to keep himſelf his Houſe. *Oppius*, one of the *Decemviri*, aſſembl'd e Fathers, and urg'd the Puniſhment of all Deſer-rs; but the Senate was ſo ſenſible of the threatning angers and Miſeries of the State, that they were ad to come to any Agreement with the Soldiers; herefore, to compoſe all Differences, they imme-iately diſpatch'd Meſſengers to the Army, which ad lately remov'd to the *Holy Mount*, as they had nce done above 40 Years before. where the Peo-le demanded to have the ſame Form of Govern-ent as was ſetled before the Creation of the *Decem-iri*, which was readily granted 'em, the People all eturning home to the City. Thus in leſs than three ear's time, ended the famous *Decemvirate*.

III. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were for their Services *U. C.* nade Conſuls for the remaining part of the Year. 304. hese preferr'd divers Laws in favour of the Com-ons, to the great regret of the *Patricians*; whereof ne was, *That ſuch Laws as the Commons enacted in the* Comitia Tributa, *ſhou'd have the ſame Force as thoſe nade in the* Comitia Centuriata; which was a great dvantage to the People. After this, the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought it convenient to all the *Decemviri* to an account. *Appius* was com-nitted to Priſon, no Bail being allow'd him; but be-ore his Trial was found dead, but by what means is ncertain. *Oppius*, the next to him in Guilt, was ac-

cus'd; and being condemn'd, dy'd the ſame day i
Priſon by his own hands. The other Eight baniſh
themſelves, and *Claudius* the pretended Maſter of *V*
ginia, was driven out after 'em; with which Juſtic
the State was ſatisfy'd, and Indemnity granted to
others. Affairs thus ſettled, the Conſuls took th
Field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, and
ſucceſsfully as to deſerve a Triumph; but the Sena
gave 'em a Repulſe for making Laws ſo much in f
vour of the Commons, and ſo diſadvantageous
the *Patritian* Privileges. The Conſuls appeal'd
the People, and complaining much of the Senate, b
the aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes*, procur'd a Law to pa
for receiving the Privilege of Triumph from the Peo
Thus did the *Plebeian* Power encreaſe daily, eac
Morſel of the *Patritians* Prerogative ſerving only
add to their inſatiable Appetites.

Little was perform'd by the *Romans* for three Yea
after, beſides the Wars with the *Volſci* and *Æq*
which were carry'd on with no great Vigour, by re
ſon of the frequent Diſputes between the Senate an
People; till the Year 308, the Enemy making R
vages and Incurſions to the Walls of *Rome*, put th
People upon conſidering the common Safety of th
State, and under the Command of *Quintius* and *F*
rius the Conſuls for this Year, they obtain'd a not
ble Victory over them. This Victory was atte
ded with a remarkable Determination of the *Roma*
between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, wh
had frequent Conteſts about certain Lands, and h
left it to *Rome* to be Judge. One *Scaptius*, an o
Commoner of 84 Years old, ſtood up, and declar
That theſe very Lands by right belong'd formerly to C
rioli, *and conſequently to the* Romans, *who ought to ha*
'em. The Senate were aſham'd to determine th
thing this way, becauſe it had been left to them
be Judges; but the People, ready to make uſe of an
Advantage, caus'd it to be Voted in the *Comitia Tri*
buta

; where the Lands were adjudged, *To be the Pub-*
Poſſeſſion of the Roman *People*, to the great Sur-
e of the *Ardeans* and *Aricians*, who were forc'd to
rn home as well ſatisfy'd as they cou'd.

V. The *Tribunes* now grew more and more turbu- *U. C.*
, and nothing wou'd ſatisfie the Commons but a 309.
re in the higheſt Offices, and Places of greateſt
ſt; and for that Reaſon they propos'd two Laws,
to permit the Marriages of *Patritians* with *Plebei-*
; and the other to make the *Plebeians* capable of
Conſulſhip, which they never were before. The
ators took theſe Propoſals moſt heinouſly, ſeeing
r Privileges in danger to be ruin'd, and were
olv'd to endure the utmoſt Extremities rather
n paſs theſe Laws; but finding ſuch violent
mmotions in the State, they paſs'd the Law about
rriages, in hopes that wou'd ſatisfie the People,
make 'em not inſiſt upon the other. This ap-
s'd the Commons for a ſhort ſpace; but ſoon after,
en the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made great Ravages in the
an Territories, they took the Advantage of theſe
ubles, and utterly refus'd to liſt themſelves, till
y were made likewiſe Partakers of the Conſulſhip,
cou'd they be prevail'd upon to defer the matter
the War was over. Upon this the Conſuls were
'd to hold a private Conference of the Chief of
Senators, where, after ſome Debates, *Claudius*
pos'd an Expedient as the moſt ſeaſonable in this
ſſing Conjuncture. He adviſ'd 'em *by no means*
ſuffer the Conſulſhip to come into the hands of the Ple-
ans, *but to create certain Governours in the room of*
ſuls, Six or Eight, whereof one half at leaſt ſhou'd be
ritians: *For by this means they ſhou'd ſeem not to take*
much Power to themſelves, and yet retain all their Pre-
ative. This Project extreamly pleas'd the whole
eting; and that nothing might ſeem to be de-
'd before-hand, they agreed, That at the next

Meet-

Meeting of the Senate, the Conſuls ſhou'd not the Senior's Opinion firſt, as the Cuſtom was, the Younger's, and ſuch as were moſt popular. *Genutius*, the Conſul's Brother, was fix'd upon to pound this way of Reconciliation, purely as his private Opinion.

Upon the aſſembling of the Senate, *Canuleius*, *Tribune*, upbraided the Conſuls with holding of ſe Meetings, and of managing dangerous Deſigns ag the State. The Conſuls on the other ſide prote their Innocency, and to demonſtrate this more cl ly, gave leave to any of the younger ſort to ſp firſt, who cou'd not be ſuppos'd to be acquai with any private Contrivances, and to *Valeriu* particular. *Valerius* advis'd the Fathers to favou Commons, *who had ſo well deſerv'd both in gaini Dominions, and getting and preſerving the Liberty o City*; and urg'd further, *That the City cou'd not be till there was an Equality of Right. Horatius*, others, being next ask'd, ſeconded him, and that, *Claudius* being deſir'd to ſpeak, the bette conceal his Deſign, according to his old way, b out into bitter Invectives againſt the Commons, advis'd, *That the Law might not paſs, neither then ever after.* This caus'd ſome Diſturbance, but a *Genutius* was ask'd his Opinion, who as it was be deſign'd, propounded this Expedient to the Se and People, *That Six Governours ſhould be choſen Conſular Authority, three* Patritians, *and three* Plebei *and when the time of their Magiſtracy ſhou'd be ex then the Senate and the People might reſolve whether wou'd have the ſame Office, or that of Conſuls for the following.*

This Project was gladly embrac'd both by the nate and Commons; and leave was given to any *beians* to ſtand for this new Office: Yet ſo fickle w the Minds of the Multitude, and ſo pleas'd with bare Novelty of the thing, that tho' many *Ple*

d for this Office, they thought none of 'em wor- of that Honour, but beſtow'd it upon eminent *tians* only, who appear'd as *Candidates.* This the third Intermiſſion of the *Conſular Power*, tho' Authority was equivalent; and likewiſe the third t Change in *Rome*, which hapned ſcarce eight rs after the ſecond, in the 310th of the City, 65 rs after the Expulſion of the Kings, and 442 be- our Saviour Chriſt's Nativity.

CHAP. V.

m the Creation of the Military Tribunes, *o the Burning of* Rome *by the* Gauls; *which almoſt ruin'd the* Roman *Nation.*

Containing the Space of 54 Years.

THE *Conſuls* being for once more laid aſide, *U. C.* theſe new-mention'd Magiſtrates ſucceeded, 310. g call'd by the Name of *Tribuni Militum*, or *Mi-* *Tribuni* *Tribunes*, three *Patritians* only being choſen, *Militum.* ely *Sempronius Atratinus*, *Clælius Siculus*, and *At- Longus.* Thus at firſt they were but three in nber, afterwards they were increas'd to four, and ngth to ſix. And tho' theſe had the Power and gns of *Conſuls*, yet their Number, together with mixture of *Plebeians*, which afterwards preſs'd in, e their Privilege and Dignity ſeem ſomething rent and inferior: Whence a *Tribune* of the ple afterwards, in way of Contempt, call'd them *conſulary Image*; and *Manlius* the *Dictator*, ſhew- hat a *Maſter of the Horſe* was inferior to a *Conſul*, par'd his Power to that of theſe Magiſtrates, ſe *Military Tribunes* having held their Office al- moſt

moſt eight Weeks, were conſtrain'd to lay it do
for that the *Augurs* found ſome Flaw in their El
on, and *Conſuls* were created afreſh, *Sempronius* be
one: So that in Seventy three Days here was a
ther Change of Government, the old one preva
over the new.

The following Year they procur'd *Conſuls* agai
be elected, and not *Military Tribunes*, who
Geganius and *Quintius*, who had both been Conſuls
U. C. fore. In this Year the Conſuls finding the Pub
311. Buſineſs to encreaſe, to eaſe themſelves, procur'd
Cenſors. new Magiſtrates to be created, call'd *Cenſors*, ſo na
becauſe the Buſineſs of the *Cenſus*, which had bee
ſtituted by *Servius Tullius*, the Sixth King of *Rome*,
one great part of their Office. Theſe Magiſtra
firſt made no great Appearance, but in a ſhort
they became Perſons of extraordinary Dignity
Power, having all the Ornaments and Enſig
Conſuls, except *Lictors*. At the beginning,
were created for five Years, which ſpace was c
Luſtrum, as was formerly obſerv'd; but ſoon
their time was ſhortned to a Year and half; but
they were choſen but once in five Years, the C
being no oftner perform'd. Their Power was
large, and their Office very extenſive; for tho' at
they only perform'd the *Cenſus*, making an Eſti
of Men's Eſtates, diſtributing them into their ſe
Claſſes and *Centuries*, taking the Numbers of the I
bitants, *&c.* yet in a ſhort time they became Pu
Inſpectors of Men's Lives and Manners, and
therefore frequently call'd *Magiſtri Morum*; and
upon 'em to degrade *Senators* upon Miſdemea
to take away Horſe and Ring from *Equites* or *Kn*
and to turn *Plebeians* out of their *Tribes*, and put
into a Lower, and many other things of the
Nature. The two firſt *Cenſors* were *Papirius* and
pronius, both *Patritians*, and the two laſt Years
ſuls; and theſe high Officers were for nigh

rs choſen out of the *Patritians*, and only ſuch as e Eminent and Famous, and had formerly been nſuls, till the *Plebeians* found the way to this, as did to all other Offices. Afterwards the *Roman* onies had their Magiſtrates, call'd *Sub-Cenſors*, o gave an account to theſe, of the Number of abitants, and their Wealth, which was immedi- y regiſter'd in the *Cenſors* Books.

The Fathers were extreamly ſatisfy'd that they got theſe Magiſtrates created out of their own y, and the *Tribunes* eſteeming their Power to be onſiderable, were willing enough to agree to it. his ſame Year, the *Ardeans*, as being Allies, ſent he *Romans* for Succour againſt the *Volſci*, who e call'd in by ſome dangerous Factions among mſelves, and had reduc'd them to great Extremi- . The *Romans* were ready to ſerve the Perſons had ſo lately injur'd about their Lands, and im- diately *Geganius*, the Conſul, was ſent with a con- rable Army againſt the *Volſci*, and he ſoon re- 'd the *Ardeans*, and clear'd the Country of the my. This Victory was very memorable, and the nſul had a noble Triumph, *Clulius*, the *Volſcian* neral, being led before the Chariot. *Ardea* had been ſo diſpeopl'd with the Factions, and the Wars, that they were willing to accept of a *Ro-* Colony, which the Senate ſent ſoon after; and new a further piece of Generoſity, reſtor'd all the ds they had before adjudg'd to the Publick Uſe, with the great Complaints of many of the mmons.

I. The Heats of the Commons were ſtill kept e, but for ſome time were of no dangerous Con- nence, till three Years after, *Sp. Mælius*, a rich ght, incourag'd by theſe Contentions, by his e Bounty to the poorer ſort in time of a great Fa- e, began to affect Popularity, and by that means

to

to aſpire to the Sovereignty. His Deſigns were gueſs'd at, and he was accus'd of this by *Min* who had the care of the Proviſions; which thi theſe unſettl'd times ſo ſtartled the Senate, tha

Dic. v. *U. C.* 314. advice of *Quintius* the Conſul, they order'd a *Di* to be immediately created, the Tumult hourly creaſing. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, now 80 Years old the Perſon, who choſe *Servilius Ahala* for his *M of the Horſe.* The *Dictator* preſently ſummon'd *M* to appear, who being well back'd and ſupporte the Mob, refus'd to obey, now breaking out into Rebellion; whereupon *Ahala* ſet upon him i *Forum*, and kill'd him, and was juſtify'd by *Qu* who commanded his Goods to be ſold, and his H to be demoliſh'd. The *Tribunes* inrag'd at the D of their great Friend *Mælius*, procur'd *Military bunes* inſtead of *Conſuls* to be created for the fo ing Year, now ſix Years after their firſt Inſtitu hoping that ſome *Plebeian* might get into the N ber of Six, which might give 'em an Opportu of revenging his Death: But Three only were ted, all *Patritians* too, and their Expectation w unanſwer'd.

The following Year Conſuls were created a and in the ſame Year *Fidenæ*, a *Roman* Colony volted to *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*; and t hance their Crime, by his Inſtigation, they tre rouſly murder'd the Ambaſſadors ſent thither, dying thus for the Publick, the Senate generouſl pointed Statues to be erected in their Honour. War in the beginning prov'd ſo dangerous, threatning to the *Romans*, that they were forc

Dic. vi. *U. C.* 316. create a *Dictator* to manage it, *Mamercus Æmili* ing the Perſon, who made choice of *Quinctius cinnatus*, an eminent Youth of the City, fo *Maſter of the Horſe.* *Æmilius*, the *Dictator*, ob a great Victory over the Enemy, in which *Cornelius Coſſus*, a *Tribune* in the Army, ſlew Kin

ius with his own Hands, and by that means ob-
'd the Honour of the *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*,
ch were the only Spoils of that nature ſince the
gn of *Romulus*. Theſe Spoils were a great Grace
Æmilius's Triumph, and a great Honour to *Coſſus*,
being with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremony
ſecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

Two Years after this, there hapned a great Plague
he City, and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* preſs'd ſo
upon the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to have
urſe to another *Dictator*; and *Servilius Priſcus* *Dic.* vii.
created, who choſe *Æbutius Elva* for his *Ma-* *U. C.*
of the Horſe. *Servilius* was ſo ſucceſsful, as not only 318.
rive the Enemy back, but to take the Town of
næ, which he did by a Mine. The taking of
næ was ſo diſadvantageous to the Enemy, that
Veientes ſent to all their Neighbours about for
cour, threatning no leſs than entire Deſtruction
ome. Theſe formidable Preparations put the *Ro-*
upon creating another *Dictator*, a little above *Dic.* viii.
ear after the laſt, which was *Æmilius*, who had *U. C.*
Dictator three Years before, and he choſe *Poſt-* 319.
ius Tubertus for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. In a ſhort
the *Romans* found that the *Veientes* cou'd pro-
no Aid, ſo the *Dictator* had little Employment
ad; but reſolving to do ſomething at home, he
'd the *Cenſorſhip* to be reduc'd to a Year and a
which was eight Years after its firſt Inſtitution,
then laid down his Office. The *Cenſors* from
took an occaſion to remove him out of his *Tribe*,
ch ſo enrag'd the People, that the next time they
cur'd *Military Tribunes* to be brought in again, af-
here had been Conſuls four Years: And in this
tion, notwithſtanding the great Induſtry of the
unes of the People, they cou'd not get in one of
Commons, which was a great Mortification to
Multitude.

At

At two Years end, the Senate took occaſion f
the Wars of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* to bring in Co
again; and partly for the Enemies great Prepa
ons, and partly for the violent Humour of the
bunes of the People, a *Dictator* was likewiſe cre
Dic. ix. tho' againſt the Conſuls Conſent. This was *Poſth*
U. C. *us Tubero*, who had *Julius Vopiſcus* for his *Maſter o*
322. *Horſe*, who having finiſh'd this War ſucceſsfully,
umph'd, and laid down his Office. For four Y
after this, they had Conſuls, in which ſpace little
acted abroad or at home; then the Commons
Mil. Tri- vail'd to have *Military Tribunes* again created, w
bunes *en-* was now the fifth time, and they had four in N
creas'd. ber, but ſtill they cou'd not bring about their
U. C. ſigns. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolted again, and j
326. with the *Veientes*; whereupon three of the Co
Tribunes were ſent againſt the Enemy, and the fo
left to govern the City. When they proceeded t
Engagement, one of the *Tribunes* cry'd *Charge*, and
cry'd *Halt*, all three being of a ſeveral mind, till t
was ſuch Confuſion, that the *Romans* betook th
ſelves to their Heels and fled; which ſufficiently
vinc'd them of the Folly of having ſeveral Ge
in one Army. The City upon this was put into
Dic. x. a Conſternation, that immediately a *Dictator* was
U. C. ated, which was *Æmilius*, a third time, who c
327. *Coſſus*, who had obtain'd the laſt *Opima Spolia*, fo
Maſter of the Horſe. By the Prudence and Valo
theſe two, the *Veientes* were overthrown, and F
once more taken and plunder'd: Then *Æmili*
turning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his O
after he had held it but 17 Days.

For two Years after this, *Military Tribunes* c
nu'd; at the end of which the Senate took occ
from the War with the *Volſci*, and the abſen
thoſe Magiſtrates, to bring in Conſuls again,
withſtanding the *Tribunes* of the People oppos'd
much as poſſible. But *Sempronius* one of the Co

naging this War very careleſly, the *Tribunes* from nee took advantage, and *Military Tribunes* were ated again the next Year. This was for one ar, at the end of which, the Senate procur'd *Con-* to be made again, and *Capitolinus*, one of 'em, n'd Advantage enough over the *Æqui*, to procure n an *Ovation*. When this Year was expir'd, there oned ſo great a Contention about two *Quæſtors* or eaſurers, whom the Commons wou'd have created of their Body, that the State fell into an *Inter-ium*. *Papirius* being *Interrex*, for a Compoſure, cur'd *Military Tribunes* to be again admitted, and r *Quæſtors* (which was two more than formerly) be created either out of the *Patritians* or *Plebeians*; he People ſhould think moſt proper in their *Comitia*. twithſtanding this, tho' many of the Commons v'd for it, not one of 'em cou'd get to be either *litary Tribune*, or ſo much as *Quæſtor*, which much ens'd the People. In the ſecond Year after this, *litary Tribunes* ſtill continuing, the Slaves conſpir'd fire the City, and ſeize on the *Capitol*; but the t was timely found out, and the Diſcoverers great-rewarded. The following Year, the *Æqui* join'd h the People of *Lavicum*, preſs'd hard upon the *nan* Territories, and the *Conſular Tribunes* quarrel-g among themſelves for the Superiority, they got at Advantages; inſomuch, that a *Dictator* was ated, which was *Servilius Priſcus*, a ſecond time, o choſe his Son *Axilla* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *vilius* ſoon diſpatch'd his Buſineſs, and laid wn his Office, after he had kept it but eight ys.

Quæſtors encreas'd. U. C. 333.

Dic. xi. U. C. 335.

After this, for four Years ſucceſſively, were *Milita-Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls*, till new Contentions ari-g between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, tho' partly m old Heart-burnings, and eſpecially upon the ac-nt of the *Agrarian* Law, the State fell again in-n *Interreghum*. *Fabius* being *Interrex*, brought in

At two Years end, the Senate took occaſion from the Wars of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* to bring in Conſuls again; and partly for the Enemies great Preparations, and partly for the violent Humour of the *Tribunes* of the People, a *Dictator* was likewiſe created, tho' againſt the Conſuls Conſent. This was *Poſthumius Tubero*, who had *Julius Vopiſcus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who having finiſh'd this War ſucceſsfully, triumph'd, and laid down his Office. For four Years after this, they had Conſuls, in which ſpace little was acted abroad or at home; then the Commons prevail'd to have *Military Tribunes* again created, which was now the fifth time, and they had four in Number, but ſtill they cou'd not bring about their Deſigns. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolted again, and join'd with the *Veientes*; whereupon three of the *Conſular Tribunes* were ſent againſt the Enemy, and the fourth left to govern the City. When they proceeded to an Engagement, one of the *Tribunes* cry'd *Charge*, another cry'd *Halt*, all three being of a ſeveral mind, till there was ſuch Confuſion, that the *Romans* betook themſelves to their Heels and fled; which ſufficiently convinc'd them of the Folly of having ſeveral Generals in one Army. The City upon this was put into ſuch a Conſternation, that immediately a *Dictator* was created, which was *Æmilius*, a third time, who choſe *Coſſus*, who had obtain'd the laſt *Opima Spolia*, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. By the Prudence and Valour of theſe two, the *Veientes* were overthrown, and *Fidenæ* once more taken and plunder'd: Then *Æmilius* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office, after he had held it but 17 Days.

Dic. ix. *U. C.* 322.

Mil. Tribunes *encreas'd.* *U. C.* 326.

Dic. x. *U. C.* 327.

For two Years after this, *Military Tribunes* continu'd; at the end of which the Senate took occaſion from the War with the *Volſci*, and the abſence of thoſe Magiſtrates, to bring in Conſuls again, notwithſtanding the *Tribunes* of the People oppos'd it as much as poſſible. But *Sempronius* one of the Conſuls, mana-

managing this War very careleſly, the *Tribunes* from thence took advantage, and *Military Tribunes* were created again the next Year. This was for one Year, at the end of which, the Senate procur'd *Conſuls* to be made again, and *Capitolinus*, one of 'em, gain'd Advantage enough over the *Æqui*, to procure him an *Ovation*. When this Year was expir'd, there hapned ſo great a Contention about two *Quæſtors* or Treaſurers, whom the Commons wou'd have created out of their Body, that the State fell into an *Interregnum*. *Papirius* being *Interrex*, for a Compoſure, procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be again admitted, and four *Quæſtors* (which was two more than formerly) to be created either out of the *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People ſhould think moſt proper in their *Comitia*. Notwithſtanding this, tho' many of the Commons ſtriv'd for it, not one of 'em cou'd get to be either *Military Tribune*, or ſo much as *Quæſtor*, which much incens'd the People. In the ſecond Year after this, *Military Tribunes* ſtill continuing, the Slaves conſpir'd to fire the City, and ſeize on the *Capitol*; but the Plot was timely found out, and the Diſcoverers greatly rewarded. The following Year, the *Æqui* join'd with the People of *Lavicum*, preſs'd hard upon the *Roman* Territories, and the *Conſular Tribunes* quarrelling among themſelves for the Superiority, they got great Advantages; inſomuch, that a *Dictator* was created, which was *Servilius Priſcus*, a ſecond time, who choſe his Son *Axilla* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Servilius* ſoon diſpatch'd his Buſineſs, and laid down his Office, after he had kept it but eight Days.

Quæſtors encreas'd. *U. C.* 333.

Dic. xi. *U. C.* 335.

After this, for four Years ſucceſſively, were *Military Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls*, till new Contentions ariſing between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, tho' partly from old Heart-burnings, and eſpecially upon the account of the *Agrarian* Law, the State fell again into an *Interreghum*. *Fabius* being *Interrex*, brought in

Conſuls again, which Government continu'd for five Years longer, in which ſpace of time not very much was tranſacted either abroad or at home. In the fifth Year, the Commons being croſs'd in their Deſigns of bringing in *Military Tribunes*, beſtir'd themſelves ſo much, as to procure three of the *Quæſtors* to be created out of their own Rank, who were the first *Plebeian Quæſtors* that ever were in *Rome*. The *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, ſtrengthen'd by Confederacies, made great Ravages in the *Roman* Dominions; and the Commons refuſing to liſt themſelves according to their uſual Cuſtom, procur'd *Military Tribunes* again, who march'd againſt the Enemy, but with ſo little Succeſs, that a *Dictator* was thought neceſſary to be created. This was *Cornelius Coſſus*, formerly mention'd, who appointed *Servilius Ahala* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and march'd againſt the Enemy, overthrew 'em in one Battel, waſted their Country, and then return'd. Two Years after, the *Patritians* and *Plebeians* were in ſome meaſure reconcil'd by means of the great Plunder of *Anxur* or *Terracina*, taken from the *Volſci*; but eſpecially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick Pay of the Army with Braſs Money, before which time every Soldier bore his own Charges in the War, as was hinted formerly; and this was the firſt time of the paying of Soldiers in *Rome*, which hapned in the 347*th* Year of the City. The taking of *Anxur*, and ſome other Places from the *Volſci*, in a ſhort time brought 'em to a Peace; and now the *Roman* Dominions were conſiderably increas'd.

Quæſt. Plebeian.

U. C. 344.

Dict. xii.

U. C. 345.

U. C. 347.

III. About the ſame time, War was proclaim'd againſt the *Veientes* with that Reſolution, and carry'd on with that Vigour, that it was evident that one of the two Cities muſt fall. *Veii* was an exceeding large ſtrong and wealthy City, and had not only been a Rival to *Rome* for many Years, but had always been ſo

ſo perfidious, that a full Revenge was neceſſary. The *Romans* inveſted the City, but it being ſeated upon a craggy Rock, they ſoon found it wou'd coſt 'em ſeveral years Siege; ſo that they were conſtrain'd to carry it on both Winter and Summer, the Soldiers lying under Beaſts-skins. At this the *Tribunes* of the People began to repine, as a thing wholly new and dangerous; complaining likewiſe of the Payment of Soldiers as an Innovation, and an unjuſt Artifice to ruine the Commons. And the next Year they got the Number of the *Military Tribunes* to be encreas'd from four to ſix, as it was at firſt deſign'd, but ſtill cou'd not procure one *Plebeian* to be elected; and this number continu'd always for the future. New Stirs daily aroſe, notwithſtanding the great Diverſion by War; ſometimes upon the account of the little Succeſs againſt *Veii*, the *Tribunes* blaming the Commanders, and prohibiting the Taxes which had been laid upon the City ever ſince the Soldiers had receiv'd Pay. About ſix Years after they renew'd their antient Conteſt about the *Agrarian* Law, and carry'd it on ſo far as to get it promulg'd among themſelves, tho' not in the Senate: And in the ſame Year, after much Trouble and Pains, they procur'd one *Plebeian* to be elected into the *Conſular Tribunes*, *Licinius Calvus* being the Perſon. They extremely applauded themſelves for this, it being the firſt time that the Commons cou'd make themſelves Sharers in the higheſt Offices; and now they moſt readily permitted the Pay of the Army to be gather'd, all Stirs being for a while laid aſide.

Mil. Tribunes encreas'd. *U. C.* 348.

Mil. Trib. Pleb. *U. C.* 353.

The Siege of *Veii* was ſtill carry'd on from Year to Year, but with various Succeſs, and under divers Commanders; ſometimes all the Beſiegers Works were deſtroy'd, and the Men driven back with great loſs by Sallies from the Town: Then the *Faliſci*, one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, join'd with the *Veientes*, and very much annoy'd the *Romans*, ſome-

times to the great hazard of their whole Army. Besides, the *Roman* Forces were much diverted by the *Volsci*, who suddenly took *Anxur*; and tho' in no long time it was retaken, yet still it was a great hinderance to the Siege of *Veii*. In the third Year of this Siege, *Furius Camillus*, a Person extraordinary for Courage and Valour, as well as other Excellencies, was made one of the *Censors*. He finding the Wars lay heavy, caus'd the Batchelors to marry the Widows of such as had lost their Lives for their Country; and likewise was the first, who oblig'd *Orphans* to pay Taxes. Two Years after he was made one of the *Military Tribunes*, but little fell to his share then. Three Years after that, which was the eighth Year of the Siege, he was a second time made *Military Tribune*, in which time he march'd against the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, both Confederates of the *Veientes*, and great Disturbers of the *Romans* in the Siege, and forc'd them all into their Towns of Defence.

Dic. xiii. *U. C.* 357. The Tediousness of the Siege, made the *Romans* resolve to carry it on with the utmost Vigour; and for that reason they created *Camillus* Dictator, and he appointed *Cornelius Scipio* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* drew out all the Forces he cou'd raise, and made a solemn Vow, that if he took *Veii*, he wou'd dedicate the tenth Part of the Plunder to *Apollo*: Then marching into the Country of the *Falisci*, he overthrew 'em in a great Battel, together with the *Capenates* their Confederates; and after that, he turn'd all his Forces against *Veii*, all People greatly expecting the Event of this important Siege. *Camillus* finding it very hazardous to attempt the storming a Place of that Strength both by Art and Nature, secretly wrought a Mine into it with vast Labour; and finding the City incapable of Relief, sent to the Senate, who order'd all who had a desire to share in the rich Spoils immediately to repair to the Army,

Army, which caus'd great Multitudes of all Ranks to go thither. *Camillus* at an appointed time order'd a Party of Men to enter the Mine, who with eaſe became Maſters of the City, to the great Amazement of the Beſieg'd. Thus was the rich and ſtrong City of *Veii* taken, like a ſecond *Troy*, after ten Years Siege, which enrich'd the *Romans* with vaſt Plunder. As for *Camillus* himſelf, he tranſported with the Honour of ſubduing the great Rival of *Rome*, triumph'd after a more magnificent manner than ordinary, having his Chariot drawn by four Milk-white Steeds; a thing which the *Romans* look'd upon as Sacred, and peculiar to the King and Father of the Gods, and therefore they were much offended at his Carriage: And indeed no Man either before or ſince him ever aſſum'd ſo much Honour to himſelf.

Soon after the taking of *Veii*, the *Tribunes* of the People, who were ever reſtleſs, propos'd a Law to divide the *Senate* and *People* into two Parts, whereof one ſhou'd ſtay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*, and there ſettle; this Separation, as they imagin'd, being a ready means for the enriching of both by the Poſſeſſion of two ſuch conſiderable Cities. The *Plebeians*, now rich as well as numerous, preſs'd hard for this Diviſion; but the *Patritians* judging it wou'd prove the Ruine of the State, as earneſtly oppos'd it, betaking themſelves to *Camillus*, who by prudently employing, and variouſly diverting the Multitude, with much difficulty put it off, but with the Hatred of many of the Commons. But not long after, there hapned a greater and more apparent Cauſe of their Hatred to him, occaſion'd by his neglecting, either thro' Buſineſs or Forgetfulneſs, while he continu'd *Dictator*, to offer thoſe Tenths of the Spoils of *Veii*, which at the beginning of his Expedition he had vow'd to *Apollo*. When therefore he had laid down his Office, he mov'd the People to reſtore the Tenths of what they had

receiv'd; and the Prieſts alſo reported that all the Sacrifices portended the Anger of the Gods, which muſt be appeas'd by Gifts. So that the Soldiers, who had already ſpent what they had gain'd upon their neceſſary Occaſions, were forc'd upon Oath to reſtore the tenth Part to *Apollo*, which was look'd upon as a very hard Injunction, and caus'd great Murmurings among the People. Now, becauſe there was little Gold in the City, the Ladies freely contributed their Dreſſes and Ornaments, which amounted to eight Talents in Gold. And the Senate in requital of this generous Act, decreed that Women ſhou'd for the future have the Priviledge and Honour of Funeral Orations, which before had never been allow'd 'em.

The Commons ſtill grew more turbulent and uneaſie, and moving again for a Separation, the War with the *Faliſci* happily fell out to divert them; for which *Camillus* was made *Military Tribune* a third time. He ſoon inveſted *Falerii*, the chief City, a large and ſtrong Place, 25 Miles almoſt *North-Weſt* of *Rome*, where the School-Maſter of the Town drew out his Boys into the *Roman* Trenches, and offer'd him to betray the Town, by delivering up the Sons of the Nobility and Magiſtrates. *Camillus*'s noble Spirit wou'd not permit him to hearken to ſuch Baſeneſs, but out of an extraordinary Greatneſs of Mind, he immediately order'd the School-Maſter to be ſtrip'd, his Hands ty'd behind him, and in that ignominious Manner to be whipp'd into the Town by his own Boys. The Magiſtrates were ſo affected with the great Generoſity of the *Roman*, that they immediately yielded; and the Senate leaving the Conditions to *Camillus*, he only fin'd them a Summ of Money, and receiv'd 'em with all the *Faliſci* into Friendſhip. But the Soldiers, who expected great Plunder, were extremely diſguſted, and from that Inſtant ſought his Ruine. This ſame Year, the Se-

U. C. 360.

nate

nate with much difficulty procur'd Conſuls to be choſen, inſtead of *Military Tribunes*, after an Intermiſſion of 15 Years. And the Year following, *Conſuls* alſo were choſen again; but in the third Year, *Military Tribunes*, in which time the *Tribunes* of the People mov'd again for a Separation, but were ſo ſharply oppos'd by *Camillus*, that in Revenge, they accus'd him of fraudulent Practices in the Plunder of the late Wars. *Camillus* finding the Multitude exaſperated againſt him for ſeveral Reaſons, and that they were now ready to condemn him, left the City; but firſt lifting up his Hands towards the *Capitol*, he pray'd, *That if his Baniſhment were unjuſt, and meerly the effect of the Rage and Malice of the Multitude, they might ſuddenly repent it; and that it might viſibly appear to the World, how much the* Romans *were oblig'd by his Actions, and ſtood in need of his Preſence.* Thus, like *Achilles*, leaving his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Baniſhment, being fin'd 15000 *Aſſes*.

IV. About this ſame time, many thouſands of the *Gauls* finding their own Country too narrow for 'em, and deſirous of removing, under the Conduct of *Brennus* their King, broke into *Hetruria*, and inveſted *Cluſium*, a City in Alliance with *Rome*. Theſe were the *Galli Senones*, a very numerous and warlike People, inhabiting moſt of that Part of *Italy* which now goes by the Name of *Lombardy*, and which the *Hetrurians* had been Maſters of before them; a People vaſt in Body, rude by Nature, barbarous in Conditions, and wandring as Rovers over many Countries. The Inhabitants of *Cluſium*, much affrighted at their great Numbers, and dreadful Looks, ſent immediately to *Rome*, begging that State to interpoſe by ſending Ambaſſadors and Letters to diſſuade theſe unjuſt Aggreſſors from proceeding in their Enterprize. The Senate willing to *U. C.* 363.

perform this friendly Part, dispatch'd Ambassadors to the *Gauls*, chusing out three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and the most Honourable in the City, for that Office. The *Gauls* at first receiv'd 'em courteously enough; and coming to a Conference with 'em, the Ambassadors demanded the Reasons of this their present Undertaking, and what Injury the *Clusians* had done them; *Brennus* made answer somewhat sharply, *That they had much injur'd 'em by refusing to part with some of their Lands, when they had more than they themselves cou'd easily manage; and this was nothing more than what the* Romans *themselves had done to the* Albans, *the* Fidenates, *the* Ardeates, *the* Veientes, *and many other People that they made War with.* These Reflections so enrag'd the Ambassadors, that they immediately stirr'd up the Inhabitants to make a Sally against the Besiegers, they themselves heading 'em. It hapned that in the midst of the Fight, *Fabius Ambustus*, one of the three, kill'd a *Gaul* of huge Bulk, and was discover'd while he was disarming of him; whereupon *Brennus* mov'd with a just Indignation, immediately broke up the Siege, and march'd directly for *Rome.*

Brennus, that he might not seem to do any thing meanly or unjustly, sent first to *Rome*, demanding the Ambassadors to be deliver'd up, as having broken the Law of Nations. But Favour so far prevail'd above Equity, that the Matter being referr'd from the Senate to the People, no Satisfaction cou'd be had from either: Nay, further, the Ambassadors themselves, were with three others created *Military Tribunes* for carrying on the War. The *Gauls* hearing this, in a great Rage hastned their March, breathing out nothing but Revenge and Destruction to *Rome.* The Places through which they march'd, were so terrify'd with their Numbers, the Fierceness of their Natures, and their dreadful Preparations of War, that

that they gave their Countries for loſt. But contrary to their Expectations, they did no Injury as they march'd, crying, *That the* Romans *only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* The *Romans* met 'em at the River *Allia*, 11 Miles from the City, with an Army of 40000 Foot, but moſt of 'em raw and unskilful Men, and what was more dangerous, under the Conduct of ſeveral Commanders. In this condition they engag'd the *Gauls*, without either Order or Diſcipline, or ſcarce any Courage, and were miſerably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there entirely cut off: The right eſcap'd better, tho' with great loſs, ſome dropping into *Rome*; the reſt, as many as eſcap'd, ſtole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for loſt, and all that was in it for ruin'd. This Day was ever after branded for an unluckly Day by the *Romans*, wherein no Work of note was to be done, and was call'd *Allienſis* in their *Kalendar*. *U. C.* 364.

Never was *Rome* in the like Conſternation, as at the News of the loſs of this Battel, and the ſudden approach of the Enemy: Nothing but miſerable Howlings and Lamentations were heard on all parts, ſome leaving the City, others creeping into Holes, Prieſts hiding their Relicts, Women running like diſtracted Perſons with their Children in their Arms, and every one ſhifting for himſelf; ſo that *Rome* became abandon'd, and was left open to the Rage and Fury of the Enemy. For they who reſolv'd to ſtay at *Rome*, quitting the reſt of the City, betook themſelves to the *Capitol*, which they fortify'd, in order to hold out a Siege. Only ſome of the *Pontifices* and *Prieſts*, and the moſt ancient of the *Senators*, ſuch as had been honour'd with ſeveral Conſulſhips and Triumphs, who cou'd not endure to think of leaving the City, put on all the Robes of State, plac'd themſelves in the *Forum* on their Ivory Chairs, reſolving ſince they had liv'd in Honour, to die in State; and in that noble

ble Posture expected the utmost of what wou'd follow.

On the third Day after the Victory, the Easiness of which much amaz'd the *Gauls*, *Brennus* appear'd with all his Forces before the City, and finding the Gates wide open, the Walls unguarded, and all things defenceless, began to suspect at first some Stratagem of the *Romans*; but after a little Consideration, he enter'd the City, and marching into the *Forum*, he was more surpriz'd than ever, to find so many Men sitting all in that remarkable Order, and profound Silence, like so many Statues: Their splendid Habits and Ornaments, their steddy Unconcern'dness, their Majestick Gravity, their Venerable Looks, together with that Air of Greatness which appear'd in 'em, made the *Gauls* imagine 'em to be an Assembly of the Gods, or at least somewhat more than Human, till one bolder than the rest, stroaking *Papirius*'s Beard, was struck by him with his Ivory Staff, whereupon he immediately kill'd the old Man. Upon which began the Slaughter, the rest of the *Gauls* following his Example, set upon the rest, and kill'd 'em all without Mercy or Distinction; and continuing their Rage and Fury, dispatch'd all that came in their way. In this manner they proceeded, sacking and plundering the Houses for many Days together; then setting the whole City in Flames, burnt down every House to the Ground.

Thus was the famous City of *Rome* laid all in Ashes, except the *Capitol*; occasion'd by the *Romans* manifest Breach of Justice, and the Laws of Nations. This hapned 364 Years after it was first built, 119 after the expulsion of the Kings, *Anno Mundi* 3615, in the third Year of the 97th *Olympiad*, 60 Years before the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire, and the setting up of the *Macedonian* by *Alexander the Great*, 388 before our Saviour *CHRIST*'s Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Burning of Rome *by the* Gauls, *to the War with the* Samnites; *when the* Romans *began much to extend their Conqueſts.*

Containing the Space of 46 Years.

ROme now felt the utmoſt Afflictions and Severities of Fire and Sword, and was the true Scene of all kind of Miſery and Deſolation; the Town deſerted by its Inhabitants, and all its ſtately Buildings a Heap of Rubbiſh; no Hopes being left but in the *Capitol*, which was now cloſely beſieg'd by the *Gauls*, and in the baniſh'd *Camillus*, whoſe Preſence was now heartily wiſh'd for. While the *Gauls* lay before the *Capitol*, they ſent out many Parties to Forage in all the Country about, who ravag'd and deſtroy'd all the Towns and Villages they arriv'd at; and that with the greateſt Careleſneſs and Security imaginable, conceiving no ſort of Oppoſition, or any manner of Danger. But the greateſt and beſt-order'd Body of their Forces approaching *Ardea*, *Camillus*, who had liv'd there a retir'd Life, began to rouſe himſelf from the ſullen Reſentments of his Wrongs, to the moving Conſiderations of the Miſeries of his Country; and by a brave and incouraging Speech, perſuaded all the *Ardeans*, that were able to bear Arms, to fall upon the Enemy in the Night-time; which was done ſo effectually, that ſcarce any were left to carry the News of the Defeat. The Fame of this Victory began to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Romans*, who now found that theſe dreadful People were not invulnerable; and the *U. C.* 364.

Romans

Romans who lay at *Veii*, now finding *Camillus*'s readiness, immediately sent to him to be their General; begging of him *to forget all former Injuries, and succour his distressed Country.* He objected his banish'd Condition, and refus'd to act, unless by Commission from those in the *Capitol*; whom he consider'd as the true Body of the surviving *Roman* State. This modest Answer was extreamly well taken, but they cou'd not imagine by what means to send to the *Capitol*, while the Enemy was in full Possession of the City.

But for the undertaking this desperate Attempt, one *Pontius Cominius* offer'd his Service, which being kindly accepted of, he thus perform'd: Putting on a poor Garment, carrying Corks underneath, he went for *Rome*, and arriv'd at the City when it was dark: The Bridge he cou'd not pass by reason of the Guards, but taking his Cloaths and binding 'em about his Head, he swam down the *Tiber* upon his Corks; and avoiding those Quarters, where he perceiv'd the Enemy to be awake, which he guess'd at by the Lights and Noise, he got into the City, and from thence to the *Capitol*, climbing up in the steepest place with extream Danger and Difficulty. The Besieg'd were much surpriz'd at the Greatness of the Attempt, and presently giving him his Instructions, sent him back the same way he came; and this part of his Expedition he perform'd with the same good Success that he had done the other, and upon his return, deliver'd to *Camillus* an Order of the Senate
Dic. xiv. to make him *Dictator*. *Camillus* chose *Valerius Potitus*
U. C. for his *Master of the Horse*, and getting together an
364. Army of above 40000 Men, he prepar'd to march against the Enemy. In the mean while, at *Rome* some of the *Gauls* hapned to discover some Foot-steps and Prints made by *Pontius* at his climing the Hill, which being privately told to *Brennus* their King, he order'd a select Party of Men in dead of Night

to

o climb up the ſame way, and take the *Capitol* by ſurprize. Theſe Men perform'd their Office with reat Difficulty, and much time, not any of the Dogs appointed for the Watch perceiving it; never-heleſs it ſo hapned that ſome ſacred Geeſe, which were kept by the Temple of *Juno*, by their Gaggling nd clapping their Wings, diſcover'd them. The *Ro-ans* every one ſnatching what Weapon he cou'd, did heir utmoſt on this ſudden occaſion; and *Manlius*, a *Patritian* of great Courage, was the firſt that made Head againſt 'em, boldly mounting the Rampier, nd preſently tumbling down two of the Enemy at once. Others ſoon came in to his Aſſiſtance, and drove down all the reſt, not a Man eſcaping; and he next Morning the Captain of the Watch was hrown headlong down the Rock, and *Manlius* re-warded as well as Circumſtances wou'd permit.

Henceforwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were in a worſe Condition, firſt wanting Proviſions, then in-fected with the Plague, which rag'd much among 'em; but ſtill the Beſieg'd cou'd have no Relief, being re-duc'd to a languiſhing and deſponding condition for want of Proviſions and Neceſſaries. So that after a ſeven Months Siege, they were forc'd to capitulate; and it was agreed, *That the* Romans *paying down* 1000 *Pound weight of Gold, the* Gauls *ſhou'd immediately quit the City and Territories.* This Agreement being con-firm'd by Oath, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* out of Covetouſneſs us'd falſe Dealings in the weigh-ing, pulling back the Balance as they thought fit; at which the *Romans* complaining, *Brennus* caſt in his Sword and Belt into the Scales, ſcoffingly crying, *Væ Victis, Woe to the Vanquiſh'd*, which afterwards became a Proverb. Whilſt this Difference laſted, *Camillus* was arriv'd with his Army, and haſtning with a choice Party of Men to the Place where the Gold was a weighing, he came boldly, and took it out of the Scales, telling the *Gauls, That it was the Cuſtom of the*

Romans

Romans *to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold.* Therefore he null'd the Compact, *because made without his Consent, who alone, as being then their* Dictator, *had the sole Power of making Peace.* Upon this therefore a Fight immediately ensu'd, where after a most bloody Conteſt, the *Gauls* were entirely routed, and such great Execution done upon 'em in the Purſuit, that all the *Roman* Territories were in a ſhort time clear'd of 'em. Thus was *Rome* unexpectedly taken, and in ſeven Months as unexpectedly recovered by *Camillus* for his excellent Services having a noble Triumph, being now deſervedly look'd upon as their ſecond *Romulus*.

U. C. 365. II. After this War was finiſh'd, the *Tribunes* of the People began to urge once more for the removing to *Veii*, which caus'd the Senate to procure *Camillus* to hold his Office of *Dictator* for a whole Year, which was ſix Months longer than the uſual time. *Camillus* with kind Words and gentle Language appeas'd the Multitude, ſhewing 'em, *How unworthy and diſhonourable a thing it wou'd be for 'em to forſake the venerable Seat of their Anceſtors, and all their ſacred Rites, which were appropriated to this Place, to inhabit a conquer'd and inſav'd City.* Upon this therefore *Rome* was order'd to be rebuilt with all diligence, and all Perſons were employ'd about it; but it was carry'd on with that Haſte and Hurry, that the City wanted much of its former Beauty and Regularity; and the Water-courſes, formerly laid in the Streets, now ran for the moſt part under private Houſes. When *Camillus*'s ſecond ſix Months were out, *Military Tribunes* were choſen; and in the ſame Year the *Æqui*, *Volſci* and *Hetrurians*, all took up Arms and invaded the *Roman* Territories. The *Military Tribunes* were ſoon block'd up by the E-
Dic. xv. nemy, and were brought to ſuch Straits, that the Se-
U. C. 366. nate made *Camillus Dictator* a third time, and he choſe *Servilius Ahala* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Camillus* over-

threw

hrew both *Æqui* and *Hetrurians*, and forc'd the *Vol-ci* to yield themſelves, after the War had continu'd or ſeventy Years; for all which he had a third Tri-mph. Three Years after this, *Camillus* being *Military Tribune*, overcame them again, together with the *Her-ici* and *Latines*, the latter of which till now had been aithful ever ſince the Battel at the *Rhegillan* Lake, a-ove a hundred Years before: And from the *Hetru-ians* he recover'd two Towns, which they had taken rom the Allies of *Rome*. The Year following four *Tribes* were added; namely, the *Stellatine*, the *Nor-nentine*, the *Sabbatine*, and the *Arnian*; which now made the whole Number twenty five. Tribes encreas'd a third time. U. C. 369.

About this time *Manlius*, who for his great Services in ſaving the *Capitol* had now got the Surname of *Ca-pitolinus*, began to grow very haughty and ambitious; and by his ingratiating himſelf with the common ſort, his paying their Debts, and his railing at the No-bility, it was apparent that Sovereignty was his aim. The numbers that he got over to his Party, together with the War renew'd with the *Volſci*, made the Se-nate procure a *Dictator* to be created, who was *Cor-nelius Coſſus*, who made choice of *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Coſſus* ſoon overthrew the Enemies, and returning home in Triumph, call'd *Manlius* to an account, and put him in Priſon. But the Multitude, extreamly afflicted at this, put on Mourn-ing Garments, and made ſuch dangerous Diſturban-ces, that after ſome time he was ſet at liberty, and ſoon after *Coſſus* laid down his Office. But *Manlius* ſtill growing more inſolent, holding private Cabals, and filling the whole City with Faction and Sedition, the Senate remitted his Buſineſs to the care of the *Mili-tary Tribunes*, whereof *Camillus* was one, and a Day was ſet him to anſwer for his Life. The Place of his Tri-al was right over-againſt the *Capitol*, where when he was accus'd, he often pointed to it, and with weep-ing Eyes and moving Voice let the People know, *what a noble piece of Service he had done there.* This mov'd *Dic.* xvi. U. C. 369.

the

the Multitude to ſuch Pity and Compaſſion, that *Camillus* caus'd the Judges to remove him without the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove; where having no View of the *Capitol*, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Place both of his higheſt Honour and greateſt Infamy: And it was decreed that none of the *Manlii* afterwards ſhou'd be call'd *Marcus*. Thus jealous was *Rome* of her Liberty, that no Deſerts cou'd atone for preſuming to offer at that.

U. C. 372. About three Years after, *Camillus* was choſen *Military Tribune* a ſixth time, tho' much againſt his Conſent, and march'd againſt the *Volſci*; where *Lucius* his Collegue, eager to ingage the Enemy when *Camillus* judg'd it dangerous, was permitted to fight alone, *Camillus* being left weak in his Bed. *Lucius* was ſoon worſted and his Army almoſt routed, when *Camillus* rouſing himſelf, was preſently help'd up on Horſeback, where making his way thro' them that fled, he drove furiouſly to oppoſe the Purſuers; which Boldneſs ſo incourag'd the Soldiers, that they all rally'd again, reſolving never to forſake a General ſo famous for his Actions, and ſo venerable for Age: By this the Enemy were ſoon ſtopp'd, and the next Day intirely routed, loſing Bag and Baggage, and the greateſt part of their Men. The Year following, great Stirs were rais'd in the City about the Creditors and Debtors, which gave an Opportunity to the Inhabitants of *Præneſte*, a Town of *Latium*, with its Dependants, to make Incurſions and Devaſtations to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great danger and damage of the City. This and the Troubles at home, caus'd the Senate to create a *Dictator*, which was *Quincius Cincinnatus*, who appointed *Sempronius Atratinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and he was ſo ſucceſsful againſt them, that he overthrew 'em, took the eight Towns that were their Dependents, by Storm, and *Præneſte* it ſelf by Surrender. Then returning in Triumph with the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he put into the *Capitol*, he laid down his Office, after keeping of it but twenty Days.

Dic. xvii. *U. C.* 373.

Two

Two Years after this, a dangerous Conteſt hapned between the *Patritians* and *Tribunes* of the People, occaſion'd by *Fabius Ambuſtus* a *Tribune*, who had marry'd one Daughter to a *Patritian*, and the other to a *Plebeian*: The latter being very much concern'd at her Husband's want of equal Honour, *Fabius* told her, *That he wou'd ſo manage Affairs, that her Houſe ſhou'd ſhortly be of the ſame Dignity as her Siſters.* From that time therefore he conſulted with *Licinius Stolo* her Husband, and *L. Seſtius*, about preferring a Law for making one Conſul out of the Commons. Theſe two being made *Tribunes* of the People, labour'd ſo violently about this Law, and the Conteſts were carry'd with ſuch wonderful Heats and Animoſities on both ſides, that from the Year 377 to 382, which was five Years, no Supream Magiſtrates were choſen at all, nor any other but *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, who kept their Places all that time. And in all this unhappy Space there was little better than *Anarchy* and Confuſion in *Rome*, till the Year 382, they procur'd Military *Tribunes* to be choſen; but ſtill the Conteſts were kept up on both ſides; when two Years after, *Camillus* was made *Dictator* a fourth time, but much againſt the conſent of the People. He choſe *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and with much difficulty brought both Parties to a better and more moderate Temper; but finding the Multitude ſo very ſtubborn and reſolute in their Deſigns, withal threatning to fine him if he comply'd not, he ſoon laid down his Office. Upon this another *Dictator* was immediately created, which was one *Manlius Capitolinus*, who choſe *Licinius Stolo* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and he was the firſt *Plebeian* that ever obtain'd this Honour. *Stolo*, who had been the great occaſion of theſe Diſturbances, now took an occaſion to prefer a Law that no Man ſhou'd poſſeſs above 500 Acres of Land, which was very diſadvantageous to the *Patritians*, and more to himſelf; for ſoon after, he was found to have above that

U. C. 375.

Di. xviii. *U. C.* 384.

Dic. xix *U. C.* 385.

Proportion, and ſo was puniſh'd by vertue of his own Conſtitution.

III. In the midſt of theſe violent Contentions about the *Conſulſhip*, News was brought to *Rome*, that many thouſands of the *Gauls* were marching from the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Rome*. This put the City into a great Fright, and all began to lay aſide their private Differences, and to think of nothing but of the common Safety; for they had fear'd the *Gauls* ſo much, that a Law was made, *That Prieſts ſhou'd be excus'd from all Wars, unleſs in an Invaſion from the* Gauls: All unanimouſly agreed to make *Camillus Dictator* a fifth time, now near 80 Years old, who refus'd not the Employment in this dangerous Juncture, but preſently choſe *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Camillus* conſider'd that the Force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about 'em in a rude and unskilful manner; Therefore he furniſh'd his Men with light Iron Helmets, and bound their wooden Targets about with Braſs, teaching them how to fence and receive the Enemies Blows without hurt. By this means he render'd the Swords of the *Gauls* ſo unſerviceable, that giving them Battel at the River *Anio*, he eaſily overthrew 'em, which hapned 23 Years after they had deſtroy'd the City; and after this Defeat, the *Romans* began now to deſpiſe the *Gauls* as much as they had fear'd 'em before. Soon after this *Camillus* in his Return homewards had *Velitræ* ſurrender'd to him without any Reſiſtance.

Dic. XX. *U. C.* 387.

But *Camillus*'s greateſt Contention, and which was hardeſt to be manag'd, was with the People, who now returning home full of Victory and Succeſs, violently inſiſted again to have one of the *Conſuls* choſen out of their own Body. The Senate ſtrongly oppos'd it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his *Dictatorſhip*, thinking that under the Shelter of his great Name, and greater Authoirty, they ſhou'd be the better

better able to contend for the Power of the Nobility. But when *Camillus* was ſitting upon the Tribunal, diſpatching Publick Affairs, an Officer ſent by the *Tribunes* of the People commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his Hand upon him as ready to ſeize him: Upon which ſuch a Noiſe and Tumult follow'd in the Aſſembly, as was never before known in *Rome*: Some that were about *Camillus*, thruſting the People from the Bench, and the Multitude below crying out, *Pull him down, Pull him down!* Still he wou'd not lay down his Office, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-Houſe, where great Conteſts aroſe, by reaſon of contrary Opinions; but at laſt the moſt popular Party prevail'd, and a Law was made, *That one of the Conſuls for the future might be choſen out of the* Plebeians; and this hapned 143 Years after their firſt Creation, and 24 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. From this time forwards the *Military Tribunes* were for ever laid aſide, now 78 Years ſince their firſt Creation, after 49 Courſes of that Office, and 15 from the *Conſulſhip* to that, and from that to the *Conſulſhip*. Now the People were reconcil'd to the Senate, and a Temple was preſently built and dedicated to *Concord*, according as *Camillus* had vow'd; and the *Patritians* deſiring a *Prætor* to be created out of their Body for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the City, it was immediately granted 'em.

U. C. 388. *Conſul Pleb.* *Military Tribunes* put down.

Prætor.

This *Prætor* was a Magiſtrate of extraordinary note, ſo call'd *à Præeundo*, a Name which the *Conſuls* themſelves had for ſometime. The Power and Authority of this Magiſtrate was very great, for he executed the Office of the *Conſuls* in their Abſence, both in the Senate and in the *Comitia*. But the principal Buſineſs of theſe *Prætors* was to adminiſter Juſtice in the City or Provinces, to which the *Conſuls* cou'd not ſo eaſily attend; and upon that account they may be *Engliſh'd, Lord Chief Juſtices*. They judg'd all Cauſes both Civil and Criminal, which laſt were call'd *Capitales*;

pitales; in Civil Cauſes they were cloth'd in Purple; but when they paſs'd Sentence in Criminal Cauſes, they were in Mourning. Upon the account of their Power and Honour, and likewiſe becauſe they were created by the ſame *Auſpicia* with the *Conſuls*, *Livy* calls them *Collegues of the Conſuls*. Their Ornaments and *Enſigns* were ſix *Lictors* with their *Faſces*, the *Toga Prætexta*, and *Cella Curulis*; and beſides thoſe Marks of Conſular Dignity, the *Sword* and *Spear*, plac'd by them in the Court. Their Officers in Court, beſides the *Lictors*, were the *Scribes* or *Notaries*, to enter things in Writing, and the *Accenſi* or *Bailiffs*, who ſummon'd the People together. At firſt there was but one *Prætor*, and that for above 100 Years; then another was created, who adminiſtred Juſtice to Strangers; whereupon for diſtinction ſake the firſt was call'd *Prætor Urbanus* or *Major*, and the latter *Peregrinus* or *Minor*. But as the Buſineſs and Dominions of *Rome* increaſed, the number of theſe *Prætors* was likewiſe enlarg'd, and increas'd gradually, till in *Auguſtus*'s Reign they came to Sixteen.

Immediately after the Reconciliation between the Nobility and Commons, a 4th Day was added to the *Latin Feriæ*, and the greater ſort of Games were ſolemniz'd; which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons were unwilling to manage according to their Office, the young *Patritians* offer'd themſelves, and the Senate procur'd alſo of the People, that two *Patritians* every Year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Ivory Chair call'd *Cella Curulis*, had the Name of *Ædiles Curules*. Theſe were created 128 Years after the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but were of greater Account, as being *Curule* Magiſtrates, their Chair being ſo call'd either from *Currus*, the Chariot which carry'd it and the Magiſtrate about, or from *Curvus*, becauſe it was made with *crooked* Feet. They had all the ſame Offices and Buſineſs as the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but had rather greater Authority; but more eſpecially they took care of the great and publick

Ædiles Curules.

Publick Games, ſuch as the *Ludi, Florales, Circenſes, Megalenſes, Romani*, &c. as alſo of *Tragedies* and *Comedies*. Sometimes at their own Charge they made theſe Shews, and ever examin'd the Plays written before they were acted; and (whether from this Inſpection of all Plays and the like, it is uncertain) they ſeem to have been the *Licenſers* and Judges of other Writings. It is further obſerv'd, that the Generals of Armies, when return'd home from Victory, deliver'd up the Corn and Proviſions which were Prize, to theſe *Ædiles Curules*, as they did the Priſoners to the *Prætor*, and the Money to the *Quæſtor*. Thus were the Diſturbances of *Rome* allay'd, and all things for a ſhort ſpace continu'd in Peace and Quiet.

IV. Soon after theſe Affairs were ſetled, News came of the *Gauls* meeting together, who had before been diſpers'd through *Apulia*, and of the intended Revolt of the *Hernici*: But all Preparations were deferred by the Senate, becauſe they were unwilling to have any thing done by a *Plebeian* Conſul. On the other ſide the *Tribunes* began to complain, that for one *Plebeian* Conſul, the Nobility had got three *Patritian* Magiſtrates, who ſat as Conſuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætexta*. Modeſty therefore ſuffer'd not the Fathers to create both the *Curule Ædiles* out of their own Body; ſo that it was agreed firſt, that every other Year they ſhould be choſen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were elected promiſcuouſly. The Year following there hapned a grievous Plague in the City, which ſwept away vaſt Numbers, among the reſt *Camillus* himſelf, after he had done ſo many noble Services for the City, that he was deſervedly call'd the ſecond Founder of *Rome*. The Plague raging both in this, and the following Year, the *Romans* to appeaſe their Gods brought in *Stage-Plays*; ſending for Actors out of *Hetruria*, in the Language of which Country *Hiſter* ſignifying a Player, thence came the *Roman* Word *Hiſtrio* U. C. 389. Stage-Plays firſt uſed. U. C. 391.

ſtrio. Theſe Plays were at firſt very barbarous and antick, beginning with a plain Country Dance to a Pipe; after which the young Men, who jear'd one another at firſt, began with rude and artleſs Verſes, call'd *Verſus Feſcennini*, from *Feſcenninum* a City of *Hetruria*: This was about 40 Years after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* in *Greece*. Still the Plague continu'd, which with the overflowing of *Tiber*, made the *Romans* conſider of ſome other ways; and ſome of the elder People reporting, *That a Peſtilence was formerly aſſuag'd by the* Dictator's *driving of a Nail*; the Senate immediately created a *Dictator*, which was *Manlius Capitolinus*, who appointed *Pinarius Natta* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. This Nail, with great Ceremony and Superſtition, was driven on the right ſide of *Jupiter*'s Temple in the *Capitol*, juſt by that of *Minerva*, and this was the firſt *Dictator* created upon this account.

Dic. xxi. *U. C.* 391.

The Year following, the Ground cleaving aſunder in the *Forum* to a vaſt depth, *M. Curtius*, a brave young Soldier, is ſaid to have rod into this Gulph, arm'd, and with great Solemnity, and ſo being ſwallow'd up, purchaſed the Deliverance of his Country, according to the Declaration of their Gods. The ſame Year the *Hernici* being up in Arms againſt *Rome*, *Genucius* the *Plebeian* Conſul marching againſt 'em, was ſlain, and his Army routed; which threatning Danger caus'd the Senate to create a *Dictator*, which was *Claudius Caſſinus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gain'd ſo much Advantage over the Enemy as to obtain an Ovation. Within a Year after, the *Gauls* were gather'd together in great numbers, and had march'd within three Miles of *Rome*, which put the City into ſuch a Conſternation, that according to their uſual way in ſuch caſes, they created a *Dictator*; and this was *Quintius Pennus*, who had *Cornelius Maluginenſis* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The Armies being drawn up on both ſides, a *Gaul* of vaſt Bulk and Stature challeng'd any

Dic. xxii. *U. C.* 392.

Dic. xxiii. *U. C.* 393.

any of the *Romans* to meet him in a ſingle Combat; which Challenge was accepted of by *T. Manlius*, a courageous young Man, who with great Bravery and Agility overthrew his mighty Foe, and ſlew him: Then taking a *Torques* or Golden Chain from his Neck, return'd, and was honourably receiv'd by the *Dictator*; and from thence he and his Poſterity had the Surname of *Torquatus*. The *Gauls* were ſo diſcourag'd at this Action, that they fled by Night, and retired into the *Tiburtines* Country, a People of *Latium*; and the *Dictator* return'd in Triumph.

The War with the *Tiburtines* and *Hernici* gave the *Gauls* opportunity to do much Injury to the *Roman* Territories, which occaſion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *Servilius Ahala*, who choſe *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and ſoon quell'd the *Gauls*; but *Pætileus* the Conſul, who had been employ'd againſt the *Hernici*, hapned to come off with the greateſt Honour. In a Year after Peace was made with the *Latines*, which was advantageous enough to the *Romans*, by reaſon of their frequent Auxiliaries from them: But the Year following the great Preparations of the *Gauls*, caus'd the Senate to create another *Dictator*, which was *Sulpitius Peticus*, who appointed *Valerius Poplicola* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and marching againſt the Enemy obtain'd a ſignal Victory over 'em. In this Year were two new *Tribes* added to the former five and twenty, namely, the *Pomptine* and the *Publican*. About two Years after this, the whole Body of the *Hetrurians* took up Arms againſt *Rome*, led on by the *Tarquinii* and *Faliſci*; in which great time of danger, *Marcius Rutilus* a *Plebeian* was made *Dictator*, which was the firſt Commoner that ever obtain'd this Honour, it being now 143 Years ſince their firſt Creation. He appointed *Plantius Proculus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, a *Plebeian* likewiſe; and tho' he was oppos'd by the *Patritians* as much as they cou'd, yet he did great Service againſt the Enemy, and Triumph'd, but

Dic. xxiv. *U. C.* 394.

Dic. xxv. *U. C.* 396.

Tribes encreas'd a fourth time.

Dic. Pleb. xxvi. *U. C.* 398.

ſtill againſt the Senate's Conſent. The *Patritians* were ſo enrag'd at this, that at the next Election they took away the *Conſulſhip* from the Commons, after they had enjoy'd it ten Years; and this hapned in the 399th Year of the City.

This occaſion'd many violent Heats and vaſt Diſturbances between both Parties, for three Years ſucceſſively, when ſome of the *Hetrurians* preſs'd ſo hard upon the *Roman* Territories, that another *Dictator* was created, namely, *Manlius Torquatus*, who made *Cornelius Coſſus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; but the Enemy out of Fear was ſoon brought to a Peace, and ſo little was perform'd by him. Now the Conteſts and Quarrels at home were grown to that height, that the Senate was forc'd to give the Commons once more the Privilege of the *Conſulſhip*, four Years after they had taken it from 'em; and becauſe Uſury again was grown exceeding burthenſome to the poorer ſort, they appointed five Men to order the Payment of Debts out of the Treaſury: So now all differences were again reconcil'd. Soon after this, a groundleſs apprehenſion of the *Hetrurians*, who were reported to be all united againſt *Rome*, occaſion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *C. Julius*, who made *L. Æmilius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, but he had ſo little Employment that he left all to the next Conſuls, who were both *Patritians*. And they went againſt the *Tarquinii* and *Faliſci*, who were not yet quieted, and brought 'em to a Peace for the Term of Forty Years.

Dic. xxvii. *U. C.* 401.

Dic. xxviii. *U. C.* 402.

V. Now *Rome* was for a while at Peace abroad, and might have been longer ſo at home, had not *Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Dictator*, ſtood for the Office of *Cenſor*, and rais'd new Diſturbances. The *Plebeians* urg'd it hotly, but the *Patritians* the better to oppoſe 'em, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which was *M. Fabius*, *Q. Servilius* being his *Maſter of the Horſe*; but ſtill without Succeſs; for after many Conteſts, the *Plebeian* Faction prevail'd, and *Marcius* was made one of

Dic. xxix. *U. C.* 403.

of the *Cenſors*, which was the firſt *Plebeian Cenſor* in this City, it being 92 Years after their firſt Creation. *Cenſor Pleb.* The next Year a conſiderable Victory was obtain'd over the *Gauls*, who now grew troubleſome again, and one of the Conſuls being wounded, and the other ſick, the Senate was forc'd to create a *Dictator* for aſſembling the *Comitia* for a new Election of Conſuls, which was *Furius Camillus*; who made *Cornelius Scipio* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and this was *Dic.* xxx. the firſt *Dictator* created upon this account. *Camillus* himſelf was choſen for one Conſul, and the Death *U. C.* 404. of his Collegue ſoon after, and the preſſing Wars with the *Gauls*, caus'd the Senate to give him the ſole Authority, ſo that he was almoſt the ſame with a *Dictator*. *Camillus* led a noble Army againſt the *Gauls*, and when they were in ſight of each other, a *Gaul*, remarkable both for his Stature, and the Richneſs of his Arms, challeng'd any of the *Romans* to a ſingle Combat. *M. Valerius* a brave young Colonel of the Foot, met him, and in a little time ſlew him; but in the midſt of the Combat a Crow came, and ſitting upon *Valerius*'s Head, with Beak and Wings aſſiſted him in his Fight, whence he had the Surname of *Corvus*, and his Poſterity all call'd *Corvini*. This Combat brought both Armies to a Battel, and the *Gauls* were intirely routed. *Camillus* returning home, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election of Conſuls. This was *Manlius Torquatus* his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Cornelius Coſſus*; and in this *Comitia*, *Valerius Corvus*, for his great Deſerts, was made *Conſul* at 23 Years of Age, a thing indeed very extraordinary. *Dic.* xxxi. *U. C.* 405.

Now the Armies were disbanded, and for a ſhort ſpace there was both Peace abroad, and Concord at home. This Year a Colony was drawn out from the City *Antia* to people *Satricum*, which had been deſtroy'd by the *Latins*; and alſo at *Rome*, a League was concluded with the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage*, who

who came on purpose to desire Amity between both Nations, as *Livy* relates it. About three Years after, the *Arunci*, a People beyond the *Volsci*, and one of the six Nations of *Latium* in the largest extent, made a sudden Invasion upon the *Roman* Territories; and upon Suspicion that it was by the Instigation of the whole *Latin* Nation, *Furius Camillus* was created *Dictator*, as if all *Latium* had been up in Arms. He chose *Manlius Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Enemy, whom he found more like Robbers than Soldiers, so that in the very first Battel they were dispers'd, and that War dispatch'd. A Year after, a Temple was dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, on the *Capitol Hill*, as the last *Dictator* had vow'd; and soon after, some Prodigies were observ'd, of which the *Romans* were so superstitiously fearful, that they created a *Dictator*, to constitute certain Feasts and Holy-days for the appeasing of the Gods, and diverting the Judgments threatned: *Valerius Poplicola* was the Person, and *Fabius Ambustus* his *Master of the Horse*; and this was the first created upon this account. Orders were given, that not only all the *Tribes* shou'd go in Procession with their solemn Prayers, but also the bordering Nations; with precise Directions, upon what Days each of 'em shou'd make their Supplications. This Year likewise the Usurers were prosecuted by the *Ædiles*, and severe Sentences given against 'em by the People.

Dic. xxxii. *U. C.* 408.

Dic. xxxiii. *U. C.* 409.

These were the principal Wars and Actions of the *Romans* with their neareſt Neighbours, which are observ'd by their own Historians to have been all defensive, or at least, not begun without just Grounds and Provocations; yet these, which may well enough bear the Name of Defensive Wars, still increas'd the *Roman* Dominions, which now contain'd in effect all old *Latium*, and the greatest part of the other five Nations afterwards comprehended under that Name, *viz.* the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, *Rutili*, *Hernici*, and

Arunci

Arunci, together with moſt of *Sabina*, and a great Part of *Hetruria*: So that now their Dominions contain'd more than double the Extent of what they were at the Expulſion of the Kings. The laſt *Dictator* beforementioned, was created a Year before the Wars with the *Samnites*, which Wars began *A. M.* 3661. in the firſt Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, 410 Years after the building of the City, 165 after the beginning of the *Conſular State*, 46 ſince the Reſtoration of the City, 14 before the Ruin of the *Perſian*, and the ſetting up the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander the Great*, and 342 before our Saviour *CHRIST*'s Nativity.

CHAP. VII.

From the Wars with the Samnites, *to the Wars with* Pyrrhus, *King of* Epirus, *the firſt Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the* Romans *began to learn the Arts of War.*

Containing the Space of 63 *Years.*

I. HItherto the *Romans* had all their Wars nigh home, and as it were at their own Gates, but now daily gathering ſtrength, and increaſing in Power, they ventur'd againſt the warlike *Samnites*, a People above 100 Miles *Eaſt* of *Rome*. Theſe *Samnites* were a hardy Nation, deſcended from the *Sabines*, from whom they probably had their Name, and inhabited a conſiderable Part of that ſide of *Italy*, which now goes by the Name of the Kingdom of *Naples*, having likewiſe ſeven other People as Dependents, namely, the *Picentes*, *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Frentini*, *Peligni*, *Marſi*, and *Hirpini*. The occaſion of this War was the *Samnites* conteſting with their Neighbours the *Sidicini*, who immediately betook themſelves to the *Campanians* for Succour. Theſe *Campanians* were a luxurious and effeminate People, inhabiting a delicious *U. C.* 410.

cious Country bordering on *Samnium*, and were ſo weakned, that they ſent to *Rome* for Aid, their Ambaſſadors imploring it with Tears, and giving up both themſelves and Country into the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate at firſt was very unwilling to begin a War with the *Samnites*, as being their Friends and Allies; but the importunate Cries and Prayers of the Ambaſſadors, and more eſpecially the ſcornful Refuſal of the *Samnites* to deſiſt from ravaging the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, ſo far prevail'd, as at laſt to make them undertake the War.

The Conſuls, *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, began their Marches with two diſtinct Armies; one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*. *Valerius*, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate Fight, overthrew the Enemy in *Campania*, and became Maſter of their Camp. The *Romans* confeſs'd they never met with more reſolute Enemies; and demanding of 'em, *What made 'em fly after ſo brave a reſiſtance?* They anſwer'd, *That the Eyes of the* Romans *appear'd to 'em like Flames of Fire, and their Looks ſo fierce and dreadful, as not to be born with.* In *Samnium*, *Cornelius*, the other Conſul, having unwarily led his Army too forward into a dangerous Place, *P. Decius*, a Tribune in the Army, boldly poſſeſs'd himſelf of a Hill above the Enemy, who much ſurpriz'd at the Attempt, turn'd their principal Force thither, which gave Opportunity to the Conſul to draw off his Men to a more convenient place. Whereupon *Decius* with an undaunted Bravery, though ſurrounded, brake through the Enemy, which more amaz'd 'em than ever; and the Conſul at the ſame time charging with great Reſolution, ſo great a Victory was obtain'd, that 30000 of the *Samnites* were ſlain. Both the Conſuls triumph'd over the *Samnites*, and *Decius* was highly honour'd by the Senate and People for his great Services.

Soon after this, Ambaſſadors from *Campania* requeſted to have Garriſons from the *Romans* that Win-

ter,

ter, in *Capua*, and other Places, to ſecure 'em from the Inſults of the *Samnites*, which were accordingly ſent. But many of the *Roman* Soldiers were ſo corrupted with the Delights and Pleaſures of *Capua*, that they began to form a Deſign of deſtroying the Inhabitants, and taking the Town to themſelves. This Deſign was communicated to many of their Companions in other Places, and well approv'd of, but it was ſoon diſcover'd to ſome of their Officers, who made ſeveral Removals to diſperſe 'em. But the Soldiers finding themſelves liable to be call'd to an Account, and perhaps ſeverely puniſh'd; as ſoon as they found Opportunity, gather'd themſelves together, and daily encreas'd their Numbers, march'd directly for *Rome* in a rebellious and hoſtile manner. This piece of Boldneſs ſo ſurpriz'd the Senate, that they preſently created a *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Corvus*, one of the laſt Year's Conſuls, who appointed *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and march'd againſt the Rebels, who had now forc'd *T. Quintius*, an eminent Soldier, to be their General. Upon the approach of both Armies, the Rebels out of fear yielded themſelves, and were receiv'd into favour, the *Dictator* having no more Imployment abroad. In the ſame Year, the frequent Inroads made by the *Romans* into the *Samnites* Country, drew 'em to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their Mercy. *Dic.* xxxiv. *U. C.* 411.

II. Soon after this Peace, the *Samnites* deſir'd of the *Romans* that the *Latins* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to aſſiſt the *Sidicini*; but becauſe the Senate wou'd not deny that theſe Nations were under their Command, and were likewiſe unwilling to provoke 'em, ſuch an ambiguous Anſwer was return'd, that the *Latins* and *Campanians* thought themſelves ſo far diſoblig'd as to revolt. *Manlius Torquatus*, now Conſul the third time, and his Collegue *Decius Mus*, were ſent by the Senate to chaſtiſe the *Latins*, who now wou'd be ſatisfy'd with no leſs than having one of

of the Conſuls, and half the Senators choſen out of their Nation. Upon certain Dreams and Prognoſtications, that the General on one ſide, and the Army on the other, was certainly to be deſtroy'd; the Conſuls ſolemnly agreed, *That in what Part the Roman Army ſhou'd be diſtreſs'd, the Commander of that Part ſhould devote himſelf to the Gods, and die for his Country*; which generous Reſolution was confirm'd by Oath: And becauſe they were all acquainted with each others Diſcipline, and way of Fighting, ſtrict Commands were given that no Man upon pain of Death ſhould fight without Orders.

Both Armies were drawn up in Battalia, and a bloody and obſtinate Ingagement immediately follow'd, the *Latins* preſſing very hard upon *Decius*'s Part, he according to his Promiſe devoted himſelf to the Gods, and ruſhing violently into the midſt of his Enemies, after a great Slaughter loſt his Life, the *Latins* being ſoon after entirely defeated. Nor was the Diſcipline of *Manlius* leſs remarkable than the Courage of *Decius*, in relation to his own Son: For he paſſing with his Troops before the Battel nigh the Enemy, was challeng'd by *Metius*, Captain of the *Tuſculans*, whom when he had ſlain and ſtripp'd, his Father with Tears commended him for his Valour, but condemn'd him for his Diſobedience; which, though a ſad, was a profitable Example to the reſt of his Men: And after that, cruel Commands were uſually call'd *Manliana Dicta*. The *Latins* now defeated, begg'd Peace; which being given 'em, though not with the ſame Conditions to all, *Manlius* return'd in Triumph, but was met only by the old Men, the young ones refuſing to do him that Honour, and ever after hating him upon the account of his Son. Soon after, the People of *Antium* and *Ardea* made Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories: But *Manlius* being ſick, he nam'd *Papirius Craſſus* for *Dictator*, who appointed *Papirius Curſor* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and kept the Field ſome Months

Dic. XXXV. *U. C.* 413.

Months in the *Antiates* Country, but no remarkable Action hapned.

The *Conſuls* for the following Year, *Æmilius* and *Publius* overthrew the *Latins*, who had again revolted upon the account of ſome Lands taken from them. *Publius*, by whoſe Conduct the Victory was obtain'd, receiv'd into Alliance ſuch Cities as had been worſted, and *Æmilius* march'd his Army, and ſat down before *Pedum*, which receiv'd Supplies from ſeveral Places. Tho' he had the Advantage in all Skirmiſhes, yet ſtill the Town held out, and he underſtanding that his Collegue was return'd to his Triumph, he immediately left the Siege, and went for *Rome* to demand that Honour likewiſe. The Senate was much offended at this Preſumption, denying him that Honour, except *Pedum* was either taken or ſurrender'd; which caus'd him out of Revenge to join with the *Tribunes* againſt the *Patritians* the reſt of his Time, his Collegue not oppoſing it, being himſelf a *Plebeian*. The Senate, out of a deſire to get free of 'em both, order'd a *Dictator* to be created, whom it fell to *Æmilius*'s ſhare to nominate, as having the *Faſces* that Month. *Æmilius* nam'd his Collegue *Publius Philo*, who appointed *Junius Brutus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and was the ſecond *Plebeian Dictator* in *Rome*. *Publius* was a great Vexation to the Nobility, and was full of Invectives againſt 'em, procuring three remarkable Laws, whereof the firſt alter'd the very Conſtitution of the State, which was, *That the* Plebiſcita *ſhou'd bind the* Quirites *or Citizens of* Rome, *of all Ranks and Degrees whatſoever*. The ſecond was, *That ſuch Laws as were enacted in the* Centuriata Comitia, *ſhou'd be propos'd or paſs'd by the Senate before they were voted by the People*. The third, *That whereas they had obtain'd before, that both the* Cenſors *might be* Plebeians, *now one at leaſt muſt of neceſſity be ſo*. So now the Majeſty of the *Roman* State was more impair'd by the Authority of theſe two at home, than it was augmented by their Valour abroad.

Dic. xxxvi. *U. C.* 414.

In

In the following Year, wherein *Furius Camillus* and C. *Mænius* were Conſuls, *Pedum* was taken by Storm, and the Conſuls in purſuit of the Victory conquer'd all *Latium*, bringing it and ſome neighbouring Parts to an intire Submiſſion; for which they triumph'd, and had Statues on Horſeback erected for 'em in the *Forum*, an Honour very rare in thoſe Days. The ſeveral People of *Latium* had ſeveral Conditions of Peace appointed 'em, ſome being rewarded and honour'd, others puniſh'd and Diſgrac'd, according as their former Behaviour had been. To *Antium* was ſent a new Colony, the old Inhabitants being forbidden the Sea, and had all their long Ships taken from 'em, but had leave to enter themſelves in the Colony, and were made free of that City. The Ships were ſome of 'em brought into the *Roman* Arſenal, others burnt, and with their *Roſtra* or Beaks, was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations in the *Forum* adorn'd; whence that had afterwards the Name of *Roſtra*. The Year following, *Minucia*, a Veſtal Virgin, was bury'd alive in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which, as *Livy* believes, had its Name from *Inceſt*; for ſo Incontinency in thoſe Women was call'd. And in the ſame Year, *Publius Philo* was made *Prætor*, who was the firſt *Plebeian* that obtain'd this Honour, the Senate little regarding it, having been ſo often overpower'd in maters of the greateſt conſequence: And this hapned in the 416th Year of the City, and 28 Years after the firſt Creation of this Office.

Roſtra.

Prætor Pleb.

U. C. 416.

III. Not long after the Agreement between the *Romans* and *Latins*, a War broke out between the *Arunci* and the *Sidicini* in *Campania*, in which the latter conſtrain'd the former to abandon their ancient Seats and ſettle in *Sueſſa*, which was afterwards call'd *Arunca*. The *Arunci* had given up themſelves to the *Romans*, who thereupon order'd 'em Relief; but the Conſuls deferring it, loſt the opportunity of aſſiſting

'em

'em. But in the next Year, the *Sidicini* with their Confederates and Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Cales*, were overthrown; and *Valerius Corvus*, now the fourth time Conſul for the following Year, and one of the greateſt *Roman* Commanders of his time, took *Cales* alſo, in which he plac'd a Colony of 2500 Perſons. *Corvus* return'd in Triumph; but he and his Collegue being employ'd in ſome ſmall Actions abroad, a *Dictator* was created for the holding the *Comitia* for the Election of new Conſuls, which was *Æmilius Mamercinus*, who appointed *Publius Philo* for *his Maſter of the Horſe*. Two Years before this, a *Dictator* was created, and another a Year after this; but by reaſon of their undue Election, and their not acting, I ſhall not reckon 'em among the Number of *Dictators*. Affairs abroad were in a peaceable poſture for ſome time, but in two or three Years, the mere Rumour of an Invaſion by the *Gauls* occaſion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *Papirius Craſſus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *V. Poplicola*; but neither of 'em had any extraordinary Employment. In this ſame Year, two new Tribes were added, namely, the *Metian* and the *Scaptian*, for the late admitted Citizens, which now made the Number twenty nine: The *Arunci* were alſo made free of the City, but without the Privilege of Voting, by a Law prefer'd by *Papirius* the *Prætor*.

Dict. xxxvii. *U. C.* 418.

Dic. xxxviii. *U. C.* 421.

Tribes encreas'd a fifth time.

About a Year after the Settlement of theſe Matters, above 170 Women were put to death for the Art of Poyſoning, being diſcover'd by a She-ſlave. This was look'd upon, as ſuch a Prodigy by the Superſtitious People, that a *Dictator* was created to drive a Nail into *Jupiter*'s Temple, as the beſt Remedy for the Diſtempers of the State. *Quintius Varus* was the Man, and *Valerius Potius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and this was the ſecond *Dictator* created upon that account. For the two ſucceeding years, a War was carry'd on againſt the Inhabitants of *Privernum* in the *Volſcian* State, who

Dic. xxxix. *U. C.* 422.

were drawn into it by *Vitrurius Vaccus*, a Man of principal Note among the *Arunci*. The first Year they were overthrown, the next *Vitrurius* was taken Prisoner, and *Privernum* surrender'd; the principal Actors with *Vitrurius* being put to death, and the rest of the Inhabitants made free of the City: This U. C. 424. hapned in the same Year with *Alexander*'s destroying the *Persian* Empire, and his setting up the *Macedonian*, and 60 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. In a Year or two after, the Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* in *Campania*, trusting to the Treachery of the *Samnites*, and taking advantage from a Plague in *Rome*, committed great Acts of Hostility against the *Romans*, who dwelt about *Cumæ* and *Falernus*. War was presently declar'd against 'em; and tho' they were assisted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, a People beyond 'em, yet they were forc'd to yield up their City, which stood in the same place, where *Naples* did afterwards, and the *Samnites* lost three of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* nevertheless proceeded, and drew the *Samnites* with the residue of the *Palæpoltians* again into the War, wherein the *Vestini*, together with their Allies, were also ingaged.

In the beginning of this War, great Commotions happen'd in the City, occasion'd by one *Papirius*, who had given up himself as Slave to *Publius*, a severe Usurer, to work out his Father's Debt. *Papirius* being both young and beautiful, *Publius* attempted to abuse him after a filthy manner, and upon his refusal, most cruelly scourg'd him. In this condition *Papirius* fled to the People, who were so affected with his barbarous Usage, that they procur'd these two Laws shortly after: First, *That no Man shou'd be detain'd in Bonds, except for heinous Misdemeanors, and then not after Punishment.* The Second, *That the Money and Goods, not the Body of the Debtor should be responsible:* Whereupon all Prisoners for Debt were immediately set at Liberty. The following Year, the *Vestini* were overthrown by *Brutus Scæva*, the Consul, and two Towns taken from

from 'em. His Collegue, *Furius Camillus*, being ſick at *Samnium*, nam'd *Papirius Curſor* for *Dictator*, the moſt famous Commander in thoſe times, who appointed *Fabius Rullianus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. *Papirius* being encamp'd nigh the *Samnites*, was forc'd to return to *Rome* to renew his *Auſpicia*, leaving a moſt ſtrict Command to *Fabius* not to ſtir out of his Trenches in his abſence: But *Fabius* finding a great Advantage, engag'd the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter of 'em. The *Dictator* in a great Rage return'd to the Camp, and wou'd have put him to death, but the Army reſcu'd him; which caus'd *Papirius* to make great Complaints to the Senate, withal urging the abſolute Neceſſity of a ſtrict Diſcipline and Authority. But at laſt the Intreaties of the Fathers, with the Commotions of the *Tribunes* and People, prevail'd with him to ſpare his Life. This Severity of *Papirius* ſo alienated the Hearts of the Soldiers, that it almoſt coſt him the loſs of a Battel ſoon after, which conſtrain'd him to be more Popular for the future; after which he overthrew the *Samnites*, and ſo much waſted their Country, as forc'd them to deſire a Peace. *Dic.* xl. *U. C.* 428.

The *Samnites* ſoon return'd to their former Enmity, and in two Years time they grew ſo ſtrong, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to create a *Dictator* to oppoſe 'em, and this was *Cornelius Arvina*, who appointed *Fabius Ambuſtus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gave the Enemy a great Overthrow; by which the *Samnites* were ſo weaken'd, that they ſent all their Priſoners and Plunder to *Rome*, together with the dead Body of the Author of the Revolt, who had kill'd himſelf to avoid being deliver'd up, and all to purchaſe Peace. The Senate only receiv'd the Men, with ſuch Goods as were particularly challeng'd, and deny'd 'em Peace. Inrag'd at this, *Pontius*, the chief Man among 'em, drew out the *Samnites* to a place, call'd *Caudium*, and putting ten Soldiers in the Habit of Shepherds, he ſent 'em to *Calacia*, where the *Conſuls* *Dic.* xli. *U. C.* 431.

lay, with Instructions to report that the *Samnites* were now in *Apulia* before *Luceria*, and had almost taken it. The Consuls believing this Report, made all speed to relieve the Town, left their Allies, the *Apulians* might be oblig'd to join with the *Samnites*. Now the *Romans* had but two ways to march to *Luceria*; one large enough, but far about; the other a narrow Passage through the Straits of *Caudium*, a Place encompass'd with high Mountains, and extream difficult and dangerous to pass, if an Enemy were nigh. The Consuls leading their Army through this, were immediately block'd up on all sides by *Pontius*, who had possess'd himself of all the Defiles.

The *Samnites* having got the *Romans* at this great advantage, immediately sent to *Herennius Pontius*'s Father, to know how to proceed. *Herennius* sent two several Messages, the first to dismiss the *Romans* without any Injury at all, the second to put 'em all to the Sword; urging, *That one of these two ways was absolutely necessary; for the first would lay a perpetual Obligation on a most powerful People, and the second wou'd be a great weakning of a most formidable Enemy; and that no third Way cou'd either gain their Friendship, or diminish their Strength.* But this prudent Counsel wou'd not be heard; so the *Romans* had these Articles allow'd 'em: First, *That their Army shou'd march away only with their under Garments, having first in token of Slavery pass'd under the* Jugum *or Gallows:* Secondly, *They shou'd wholly quit all* Samnium, *and remove all their Colonies:* And, Thirdly, *Both* Roman *and* Samnite *should live under the same Terms of Confederacy and Alliance.* The *Romans* were constrain'd to submit to these disgraceful Articles, and with wonderful Shame, Anger, and Confusion, return'd to *Capua* disarm'd and half naked, and from thence to *Rome*. The whole City was most sensibly afflicted at their shameful Disaster; their generous Blood boiling in their Veins, and nothing but Fury and Revenge appear'd in their Faces. The Consuls refus'd to appear abroad, or to act, for which reason

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a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* of a new Election, which was *Æmilius Papus*, who appointed *Valerius Flaccus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. But inſtead of an Election of Conſuls, the State for a while fell into an *Interregnum*, there being nothing but Grief and Vexation in all places, and the whole City put into Mourning. *Dic.* xlii. *U. C.* 432.

But the Year following, Conſuls were choſen, *Papirius Curſor* and *Publius Philo* being the Perſons; and the Senate being aſſembled, *Poſthumius*, one of the laſt Years Conſuls, generouſly offer'd himſelf to be deliver'd, together with his Collegue, up to the Enemy, and ſo to break the *Caudine* Treaty, urging, *That only they two were obliged to obſerve the Articles, and not the State, which was altogether ignorant of what was done.* This was gratefully accepted of, but *Pontius* refus'd to receive 'em, greatly exclaiming againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*. But the Army ſoon march'd againſt them under the Conduct of *Papirius*, and ſufficiently reveng'd themſelves of all former Affronts, overthrowing 'em in ſeveral Battels, making 'em all paſs under the *Jugum*, recovering ſeveral Towns, and freeing the 600 Hoſtages which they had deliver'd to 'em in the *Caudine* Treaty; ſo that the *Samnites* cou'd very hardly obtain a two Years Truce. In the time of this Truce, two new *Tribes* were added to the reſt, namely, the *Ufentine* and *Falerine*, which made the Number thirty one. The *Samnites*, incourag'd by ſome others, broke their Truce, which together with the *Hetrurians* warlike Preparations, occaſion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *L. Æmilius*, who made *L. Fulvius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and in a bloody Battel overthrew the Enemy, who came to relieve *Saticula*, which he had inveſted. The next Year, another *Dictator* was created to carry on this War, which was *Fabius Maximus*, who choſe *Aulius Cerretan* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and took *Saticula*, managing the War with great Succeſs againſt the *Samnites*, and conſiderably in-

Tribes encreas'd a ſixth time. *U. C.* 436. *Dic.* xliii. *U. C.* 437. *Dic.* xliv. *U. C.* 438.

larging the *Roman* Dominions in thoſe Parts.

The following Year, a dangerous Conſpiracy was diſcover'd at *Capua*; and this occaſion'd the creating
Dic. xlv. of a *Dictator*, which was *C. Mænius*, who made
U. C. choice of *M. Foſlius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and
439. ſoon ſuppreſt that Diſturbance. The next Year the *Samnite* War was carry'd on with great Vigour, and
*Dic.*xlvi. a *Dictator* created, which was *C. Petælius*, who made
U. C. *M. Foſlius* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and gain'd great
440. Advantages over the Enemy. After which the *Romans* had a ſhort breathing time, and but a ſhort one; for ſoon after, the *Hetrurians* making great
Dic. Threats, and as great Preparations, another *Dictator*
xlvii. was created, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who per-
U. C. form'd little againſt 'em, by reaſon of their keeping
441. upon the Defenſive. In this ſame Year *Appius Claudius* being one of the *Cenſors*, made the famous Cawſey, or Highway call'd *Via Appia*, a prodigious Work, together with the Channel of freſh Water, which he brought into the City; which Works he all alone accompliſh'd, according to *Livy*. A Year or two was employ'd againſt the *Hetrurians*, till at laſt
Dic. *Papirius* was made *Dictator*, who chuſing *Bubulcus* his
xlviii. *Maſter of the Horſe*, gave 'em the greateſt Overthrow
U. C. that they ever received yet, all their choiceſt Men
443. being loſt; and from that time they were never able to perform much againſt *Rome*. Four Years after,
*Dic.*xlix. a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for
U. C. Election of Conſuls, which was *Cornelius Scipio*, and
447. *Decius Mus* was his *Maſter of the Horſe*. In the ſecond Year after this, the *Samnites*, after many and great Loſſes, obtain'd a Peace, 12 Years after they broke their Truce, and the ancient League was renew'd with 'em, and this hapned 37 Years after the firſt War with that Nation.

U. C. Soon after this Peace was concluded, the *Romans*
440. turn'd their Arms againſt the *Æqui*, and chaſtiz'd them for aſſiſting the *Samnites*, which affrighted

other

ther Nations into Subjection, the *Roman* Dominions now daily encreaſing. But however ſuch Reſiſtance was made as they thought it neceſſary to have a *Dictator*, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who choſe *M. Titinius* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and in eight days time return'd in Triumph. In leſs than a Year after, the Fame of the *Hetrurians* joining with the *Umbrians*, a People on the *North* of them, and the *Sabines*, occaſion'd the creating of another *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Maximus*, who appointed *Æmilius Paulus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*. This *Dictator* intirely broke the Power of all the *Hetrurians*, reducing all their Territories to the *Roman* Subjection; which happen'd above 430 Years after the firſt Wars with thoſe People. The *Umbrians* were likewiſe much weakned, and loſt a conſiderable Part of their Country; the *Romans* ſtill extending their Dominions on all ſides, and continually increaſing their Strength.

Dic. l. *U. C.* 451.

Dic. li. *U. C.* 452.

During ſome ſort of Intermiſſion abroad, the Commons began to fall into their former diſſatisfy'd Humour, and the *Tribunes* much complain'd that all the *Prieſts* and *Augurs* were created out of the *Patritians*, and urg'd that the *Plebeians* might alſo partake of thoſe Offices. The Senate made no great Oppoſitions, as being ſufficiently accuſtom'd to yield in matters of greater moment: So that whereas at preſent there were but four *Chief Prieſts*, and as many *Augurs*, anſwering to the four *Tribes* in the City, now four more were added, and to thoſe, five more out of the Body of the Commons. And in this ſame Year, *Valerius*, the Conſul, preferr'd a Law of *Appeal* more carefully enacted; which was the third time this Law was confirm'd ſince the Expulſion of the Kings, and always occaſion'd by the ſame Family. The ſame Conſul fell upon the *Æqui*, who were now in Rebellion, and in a little time they had nothing left 'em of their antient Fortune, but the Stoutneſs of their Tempers. The

Tribes encreas'd a ſeventh time.

following Year was a *Luſtrum*, and two new *Tribes* were added to the former, namely, the *Anienſis*, and the *Tarentine*, which now made the whole Number Thirty three. The City was alſo much increas'd, for at the next *Luſtrum*, five Years after, there were ceſs'd no leſs than 262322 free Citizens.

U. C. 454.

Within a Year after this, the *Samnites*, after ſix Years reſpite, broke their League with the *Romans*, and with them were fought ſeveral Battels, the *Samnites* being almoſt always Loſers. But the moſt memorable was that about three Years after this laſt Breach, when they had got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, with ſome of the *Hetrurians* to aſſiſt them, and receiv'd a moſt dreadful Overthrow by the Conſuls *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. In the midſt of this Fight, *Decius* ſeeing his Party retire, and in danger of being defeated, he follow'd the great Example of his Father above forty Years before, and moſt ſolemnly devoted himſelf to the Gods; then ruſhing into the midſt of the Enemy with an extraordinary Fury and Courage, he recover'd his Army, but with the loſs of his Life. About two Years after, *Papirius*, Son to the former, got a noble Victory over them, took above 15000 Priſoners, gain'd ſeveral Towns, and obtain'd a ſpendid Triumph. But the following Year, the *Samnites* ventur'd another Battel, and had better Fortune, overthrowing *Fabius Gurges*, the Conſul, which put the Senate upon removing of him. But his Father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent the Diſgrace, promis'd to be Lieutenant to his Son; which Office he perform'd ſo well, as he procur'd him a great Victory, and a Triumph. And within two Years after, the *Samnites* were ſo mortify'd, as to beg a Peace, after *Pontius* their General had been taken and ſlain, which was at laſt granted 'em, and the League was renew'd with 'em a fourth time.

U. C. 462.

In leſs than a Years time, the *Samnites* again broke their League, but were puniſh'd with the loſs of ſeveral

l Battels and more Towns, over whom *Dentatus* he Conſul triumph'd twice in one Year; after which were Colonies ſent to *Caſtrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. Two Years after, the *Triumviri* for Capital Matters were created, who had Power to impriſon, and puniſh all Malefactors; and in the ſame Year 273000 Free Citizens were ceſs'd. Three-Years after that, the Commons, by reaſon of their deſperate Debts, and violent Conteſts between them and the *Patritians*, withdrew themſelves into the Hill *Janiculum*; which was the third Separation of the *Plebeians*. The Senate, to appeaſe this dangerous Tumult, created *Q. Hortenſius Dictator*, who, with many Arts, and much Difficulty, perſuaded 'em to return, promiſing them, *That their* Plebiſcita *ſhou'd have the Force of Laws, and bind the whole Body Politick.* This was call'd the *Lex Hortenſia*, tho' the ſame, in effect, had been granted twice before. Soon after, Wars were ſucceſsfully managed againſt the *Lucani*, a Nation in almoſt the fartheſt Parts of *Italy*, who had moleſted the *Thurini*, the *Roman* Allies. But the laſt of the *Italians* that made much Oppoſition, were the *Tarentines*, formerly mention'd, who inhabited a very large and rich City in the South-Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*, 240 Miles from *Rome*. Theſe People had plunder'd ſeveral of the *Roman* Ships, which was the Occaſion and Beginning of that War.

Triumviri Capitales.

Dic. lii. *U. C.* 467.

U. C. 472.

Nevertheleſs theſe *Tarentines*, tho' join'd with the *Lucani*, *Meſſapii*, *Brutii*, *Apulii*, and *Samnites*, (the four former being their Neigbours, and the Inhabitants of the South-Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*) were not able to oppoſe the extraordinary growing Power of the *Romans*; but were in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſs'd, that they were forc'd to ſend for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to come over and aſſiſt 'em. And thus began the memorable War with that famous Commander, the moſt conſiderable the *Romans* ever before met with, which happen'd in the 473 Year of the City, *A. M.* 3724. in the 4th Year of the 124th *Olympiad*, 228 ſince the beginning

beginning of the *Consular State*, 109 since the burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 49 since the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 279 before our Saviour *CHRIST*.

CHAP. VIII.

From the first Wars with Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *to the first* Punick *or* Carthaginian *War, when the* Romans *first set Foot out of* Italy.

Containing the Space of 16 Years.

U. C. 473. I. *Pyrrhus* was much sollicited by the *Tarentines* to come into *Italy*, who, in the Name of many of the *Italians*, made many large Presents to him, signifying, *How much they stood in need of a General, so Eminent both for Abilities, and the Reputation of his Arms.* *Pyrrhus* being of a generous and ambitious Temper, promis'd 'em to come over with an Army, and shortly after dispatch'd *Cineas* a *Thessalian*, an excellent Orator and Scholar of *Demosthenes*, with 3000 Men for *Tarentum*. Soon after him, he put to Sea with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horse, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers; but meeting with a great Storm, his Ships were much dispers'd, and some lost, so that he arriv'd at *Tarentum* but with a small Part of his Army. When he enter'd the Town, he refus'd to act without their particular Order, till the rest of his Army were arriv'd; then observing how the Inhabitants apply'd themselves chiefly to Bathing, Feasting, and their Pleasures, he shut up the Publick Meeting Places, restrain'd them from Drinking and Games, and called them to Arms, being very severe in listing Men fit for Action and Service. He now receiv'd Intelligence, that *Lævinus* the *Roman* Consul was upon his March

larch with a numerous Army, waſting *Lucania* ; he paſs'd ; and though theſe Confederate Troops ere not all arriv'd, he drew out his Army againſt im ; but before the Armies cou'd join, he ſent to *ævinus*, offering a Mediation between the *Romans* nd their Adverſaries. But *Lævinus* return'd Anwer, *That he neither eſteem'd him as a Mediator, nor ar'd him as any Enemy* ; and taking his Meſſengers, e order'd 'em to be led through the midſt of the amp, and bad them *go tell their Maſter what they ad ſeen.*

Pyrrhus advanc'd and encamp'd on the Plain beween *Pandeſia* and *Heraclia* ; and perceiving the *Roans* lay on the other ſide of the River *Lyris* in good rder, he planted Men all along the Bank to oppoſe heir Paſſage : But the *Romans* haſtning to prevent the oming up of thoſe Forces he expected, attempted the aſſage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, he Horſe getting over in ſeveral places ; ſo that the *reeks* fearing to be hemm'd in, were oblig'd to retreat little way ; which *Pyrrhus* perceiving, drew up his Men Battalia, himſelf at the Head of 'em, and began the harge. He was very remarkable for the Fineneſs nd Richneſs of his Arms, but more for the Bravery nd Nobleneſs of his Acts ; managing the Battel with great Steadineſs and Preſence of Mind, and perforning the Drudgery of a common Soldier, as well as he Office of a General. In the midſt of the Fight, *yrrhus*'s Horſe was kill'd under him, which oblig'd im to change Armour with one near him, who being aken for the King was ſlain, and his Armour taken. his Armour being carry'd about by the *Romans* in oken of his Death, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into his Solliers, that it had loſt him the Victory, but that he eaſonably, and with much labour made himſelf nown. Whilſt the Battel ſeem'd doubtful, the Elehants were ſent in among the *Romans*, and the Surrize they were in, together with their Horſes not nduring the Smell and Bigneſs of thoſe Creatures,

broke

broke their Ranks; whereupon *Pyrrhus* commande the *Theſſalian* Cavalry to charge them in this Diſor der, and gave them a total Rout, with great Slaugh ter, tho' with the loſs of many of his beſt Men, h himſelf alſo being wounded. The *Romans* loſt nig 15000 Men, and had 1800 taken Priſoners; and th other ſide loſt 13000, as *Plutarch* obſerves out of *Di nyſius*.

Pyrrhus us'd the *Roman* Priſoners with extraord nary Civility and Courteſy, and generouſly bury their Dead; then taking a view of their Bodies, an obſerving that they were all wounded before, an what noble and ſtern Countenances they had, h lift up his Eyes, and cry'd, *O how eaſily might conquer the World, were I Maſter of ſuch Soldiers!* A ter this Battel, *Pyrrhus* being join'd with the Aux liary Troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, di rected his March towards *Rome*, and advanc'd a far as *Præneſte*, laying waſte all before him. Th *Romans* us'd all neceſſary Diligence to recruit the Troops, and to make new Levies, ſtirring up the Courages as much as poſſible, *Fabritius* a *Patric* inſinuating, *That the Loſs was not through want of Va lour, but Conduct, and that the* Grecians *had not ove come the* Romans, *but* Pyrrhus *had conquer'd* Lævinu *Pyrrhus* finding the *Romans* very diligent and expe ditious in their Recruits, conſider'd it was mor Honourable to treat with 'em after his Victory ſince he had but ſmall hopes of ſubduing them, an for that purpoſe ſent *Cineas* to find out their Inclina tions, a Man ſo powerful in Rhetorick, that th King acknowledg'd him, *to have ſtorm'd more Tow by his Tongue, than he ever did by his Arms.* Cine very cloſely apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the Nobili ty, with Preſents for themſelves and their Ladies from his Maſter; but he found them ſo ſteady an unmov'd, that not a ſingle Perſon wou'd receive any and both Men and Women anſwer'd, *That if a Trea ty were publickly concluded, they then ſhou'd be ready*

ew all reſpect and Service due to ſo great a Man as the ing was.

Cineas finding theſe Methods ineffectual, proceed- to his Buſineſs more publickly, and being come nto the Senate, he ſaid the moſt ſoft and obliging hings in the World; likewiſe offering in his Maſter's Name, to return all that was taken in the attel without Ranſom, and promiſing all the Aſ- ſtance that cou'd be expected for the conquering ll *Italy*, only asking for his Maſter and the *Taren- ines* their Friendſhip and Alliance. Theſe fair Pro- niſes at firſt made the Senate ſomewhat inclin'd to Treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very ncient, was brought into the Senate-houſe, who y a ſtirring and incouraging Oration, ſo warm'd he Aſſembly, that *Cineas* could be heard no more, ut was diſmiſs'd with this Anſwer; *That when* Pyr- hus *had withdrawn his Forces from* Italy, *then if he leas'd they wou'd treat with him about Friendſhip and Al- iance, but till then, they reſolved to carry on the War with he utmoſt Vigour, tho' they met with never ſo many De- eats.* *Cineas*, at his return, was ask'd by *Pyrrhus*, what he thought of *Rome*? he told him, *That the Senate ap- ear'd to him as a venerable Aſſembly of ſo many Kings; nd the People he thought were like the* Hydra, *whoſe Num- ers encreas'd the more for the Defeat; for the Conſul had lready rais'd twice as great an Army, and there were ſtill ar greater Numbers behind.*

Soon after *Cineas*'s return, the *Romans* ſent to *Pyr- hus* about ranſoming of Priſoners, among others, *C. Fabricius*, a Perſon eminent for his great Virtues, and remarkable for his profeſs'd Poverty. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with an extraordinary Civility and Kindneſs, likewiſe offer'd him Gold, aſſuring him, *It was no otherwiſe than an hoſpitable Reſpect to a Perſon of his Excel- encies*; but all this had no effect upon the Steadineſs of *Fabricius*'s Temper. The next day, *Pyrrhus* trying all Methods to diſcompoſe him, commanded one of his largeſt Elephants, compleatly arm'd, to be plac'd behind

behind the Hangings, and in the midſt of their D
courſe, upon a Sign given, the Tapiſtry was dra
aſide, and the huge Elephant raiſing his Trunk ov
Fabricius's Head, made a hideous Noiſe. *Fabricius*
tho' he had never ſeen this Creature, was not at
afraid, but gently turning about, and ſmiling, ſa
Neither your Gold yeſterday, nor your dreadful Beaſt to-d
can make any Impreſſion upon me. *Pyrrhus* amaz'd
the Greatneſs of his Mind, releas'd the Priſoner
intruſting 'em to him alone, with nothing but a Pro
miſe, *That if the Senate accepted not of Peace, they ſhou*
return to him; which accordingly they did, being
commanded to do it by the Senate upon pain o
Death. In the ſame Year, *Coruncanius, Lævinus*
Collegue, triumph'd over ſome of the *Hetrurians*
who had revolted; and likewiſe this Year the *Luſtrum* being perform'd, 278222 Free Citizens were
ceſs'd.

U. C. 474. II. The *Roman* Army being now recruited, *Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *Decius Mus*, the Conſuls for the following Year, were ſent againſt *Pyrrhus*. The *Romans* had now learn'd not to fear the Elephants ſo much as formerly, and were very careful in obſerving and underſtanding *Pyrrhus*'s Art and Conduct in Battel. Both Armies met about the City of *Aſculum*, and *Pyrrhus* was incommoded by a Wooddy Country, very inconvenient for his Cavalry, and a very ſwift Current of the River, that the Elephants for want of ſure Footing cou'd not get up with the Infantry: But after many wounded and kill'd, the Night put an End to the Engagement. The next Morning, *Pyrrhus* deſigning to fight on even Ground, and to have the Elephants in the thickeſt of the Enemy, caus'd a Detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants, with great Courage advanc'd in a cloſe and well order'd Body; and the *Romans* not having thoſe Advantages of retreating and falling on as they had

had before, were oblig'd to fight Man to Man upon plain Ground, making a bloody Slaughter among the *Græcian* Spear-men, not minding or valuing what they ſuffer'd themſelves: After a long and obſtinate Fight, the *Romans* were ſo preſs'd upon, eſpecially by the mighty Force of the Elephants and the *Græcian* Cavalry, and ſo overpower'd, that they retreated to their Camp with the loſs of 6000 Men, the Enemy having loſt nigh 4000. This Battel is variouſly related, but this is the trueſt Account that I can find of it.

After this Engagement, 'tis ſaid, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman who congratulated him for his Victory, *If we overcome the* Romans *another time, we are utterly ruin'd.* For by this time he had loſt a great Part of his Forces he had brought over, and almoſt all his particular Friends and Commanders. This Battel finiſh'd the Campaign, and the reſt of the time was employ'd in taking Care for the next; at which time *Fabricius* himſelf was choſen Conſul, together with *Æmilius Paulus.* At the nigh Approach of the two Armies *Fabricius* receiv'd a Letter from the King's principal Phyſician, *offering to take off* Pyrrhus *by Poyſon, and ſo end the War without farther hazard to the* Romans, *provided he might have a Reward proportionable to the Greatneſs of the Service. Fabricius* inrag'd at the Villany of the Phyſician, and diſpoſing his Collegue to the ſame Opinion, he immediately diſpatch'd Letters to *Pyrrhus* to let him know *what an ill Choice he had made both of his Friends and Enemies; that he was in War with Honeſt Men, and truſted and promoted Villains; and that the* Romans *abhorr'd all Treacherous Practices, it being their Cuſtom to conquer an Enemy by the Power of their own Arms, and not by Treaſon of the other Subjects. Pyrrhus* receiv'd the Meſſage with all Courteſy, and being more and more ſurpriz'd at the *Roman* Greatneſs and Generoſity, he cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *whom it is harder to turn from the Ways of Vertue and Honeſty, than the Sun from its Courſe.* Such was the noble Spirit of the

Romans

Romans in these days, where each Man minded the Honour of the Publick more than his own particular Profit.

Pyrrhus made a strict Inquiry into this Plot, and executed the Physician; and that he might not be excell'd in Generosity, he immediately sent to Rome all the Prisoners without Ransom, and again employ'd *Cineas* to negotiate a Peace with 'em, being now more desirous of their Alliance than ever: But whether the *Romans* believ'd their sending home so many Prisoners, too great an Obligation from an Enemy, or too great a Reward for barely not doing Ill, they wou'd not accept of 'em *gratis*, but immediately releas'd as many of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*: and wou'd admit of no Debate of Alliance or Peace with *Pyrrhus*, till he had withdrawn his Forces from *Italy*, and sail'd back to *Epirus* in the same Ships that brought him over. The King was much confounded at this, being very unwilling to continue this War, and much more to quit it dishonourably; but in a short time after he was reliev'd by an Expedition into *Sicily*, he being intreated by the Inhabitants, to expel the *Carthaginians*, and clear the Island of Tyrants. This prov'd an honourable Pretence of drawing off his Forces, and leaving *Italy*; therefore sending *Cineas* before, and putting a Garrison into *Tarentum*, tho' much against their Will, he embark'd for *Sicily* with an Army of 30000 Foot and 2500 Horse, after he had been in *Italy* two Years and four Months.

III. The Absence of *Pyrrhus* gave the *Romans* much Respite, or at least Leisure enough to punish the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, whom they warr'd against with good Success; they having little Hopes, but the Return of *Pyrrhus*, with whom they were very urgent, letting him to understand, *That they were shut up in their Towns, which cou'd hardly be maintain'd without his Assistance.* *Pyrrhus*, tho' he had

had been ſucceſsful enough, within two Years, was glad to have ſo ſpecious a Pretence of leaving *Sicily*, when his Carriage there had been ſo diſpleaſing to many, that in a ſhort time he muſt have left it with no other Pretence than neceſſity and Self-preſervation. About the time of his Return, there happened ſuch a dreadful Plague in *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the laſt Year's Conſul, was created *Dictator*, for the Ceremony of driving a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter*, which they by Tradition, believ'd wou'd aſſwage the Diſtemper: And this was the third *Dictator* created upon this Account. The *Conſuls* for the following Year were *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which raiſing new Levies, was oppos'd by the People, who refus'd to liſt themſelves. *Curius*, reſolving to go through with his Deſigns, commanded the Names of every *Tribe* to be put into a Box; and the Lot falling upon the *Pollian Tribe*, the firſt that was drawn of that *Tribe* was cited; and not anſwering, he ſold his Goods; and, upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he ſold the Man too, ſaying, *The Commonwealth ſtood in no need of ſuch a Member as refus'd all Obedience.* The *Tribunes* at that time did not aſſiſt the Fellow; and ever after that, if any refus'd to liſt himſelf in a juſt Muſter when commanded, it became a Cuſtom to make a Slave of him. *Dic.* 5th. *U. C.* 477.

Pyrrhus, by this time, had with ſome difficulty and danger got from *Sicily* to *Tarentum* with an Army of 20000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, where increaſing his Army by new Levies, he marched into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had gathered together a powerful Army. *Pyrrhus* divided his Forces into two parts; whereof one he ſent into *Lucania* to hinder *Lentulus* from joyning with his Collegue *Curius Dentatus*, againſt whom he directed his March, then advantageouſly poſted nigh *Beneventum*. *Pyrrhus* haſtning to attack him there before the other cou'd arrive, with the choiceſt of his Men and the fierceſt of his Elephants, march'd

in the Night-time towards the *Roman* Camp, hoping to ſurprize 'em; but paſſing through Woods, his Lights fail'd him, and his Men loſt their way. Whereupon a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, and at the break of Day, his Approach was diſcover'd by the *Romans* as they march'd down the Hills, which put their whole Camp into much Diſorder and Fear; but recovering themſelves, *Curius* drew out his Troops in haſte, and falling in with the Van-guard of *Pyrrhus*, put him to flight, killing many Men, and taking ſome Elephants. This Succeſs very much diſcourag'd the reſt of *Pyrrhus*'s Troops, and *Curius* deſcending into the Plain, joyn'd Battel with the whole Army. In one Wing he repuls'd the Enemy, in the other, by the Violence of the Elephants, he was born back to his Trenches; where calling forth thoſe who guarded 'em, they from the high Places ſo ply'd the Beaſts with Darts and fired Pitch and Hemp, that they ran back upon their Friends, bearing down and breaking all their Ranks, ſo that the Victory fell to the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* having loſt 23000 Men, according to *Eutropius*.

Pyrrhus's Camp was alſo taken, which was not only admir'd, but likewiſe prov'd of very great uſe afterwards: for anciently the *Romans* and the Nations about 'em were wont to pitch their Tents without Order, after the manner of Booths, in the midſt of their ſeveral Batallions; but *Pyrrhus* meaſuring out his Ground, encamp'd his whole Army within a Trench. By his Example the *Romans* receiv'd great Light and Experience as to Warlike Affairs, and afterwards adding ſuch things as they found neceſſary, they attain'd to the moſt abſolute Skill in Encamping, in ſucceeding times. *Curius Dentatus* obtain'd a moſt ſplendid Triumph for this Victory, being grac'd with four Elephants, 1300 Priſoners of ſeveral Nations, with ſeveral Implements of the *Tarentine* Luxury and Rarities. A few Days after, his Colleague triumph'd

umph'd over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*: And this Year was remarkable for the *Cenſorſhip* of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, who remov'd *Rufinus*, and who had been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, out of the Senate, for having ten Pound of Silver Plate for the uſe of his Table: And in this *Luſtrum* 271224 Free Citizens were ceſs'd or poll'd. As for *Pyrrhus*, he bore his Defeat with an undaunted Mind, and receiving Letters from *Greece* and *Aſia*, he call'd the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, telling them that Aſſiſtance wou'd ſoon come; which Report kept the *Romans* in their Camp: And ſo taking this Advantage, the Night following he paſs'd undiſturb'd into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot and 500 Horſe, firſt leaving a Garriſon in *Tarentum*; which was more to preſerve his own Reputation than for any other Uſe. Thus in about ſix Years ended the Wars with the famous *Pyrrhus*, a Perſon eſteem'd the ableſt Commander of all the Kings in that time, both for Military Experience and perſonal Valour; but he knew better how to Conquer than how to Keep; and from him the *Romans* did not only improve the Art of Encamping, but likewiſe learn'd to avoid Plains, and better to ſuſtain the Shock of a diſciplin'd Cavalry, which before they had deſpis'd.

IV. The *Roman* Name, which before had been famous, was now become formidable, after the Overthrow of ſo great a Man as *Pyrrhus*, which made way for farther Conqueſts, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire. In the ſecond Year after *Pyrrhus*'s Retreat, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Ægypt*, ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate the *Roman* Succeſs, and to enter into an Alliance with 'em. The *Romans*, to ſhew him the greater Reſpect, likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ægypt*, where they were moſt courteouſly receiv'd, and ſent home laden with Gifts and Preſents. The following Year, the *Tarentines* not being able to remove the Garriſon *Pyrrhus* had left under *U. C.* 480.

Milo, desir'd Aid of the *Carthaginians*; and with them giving Battel to the *Romans*, were overthrown. *Milo* sensible how unable he was to resist, by leave from the Consul *Papirus*, departed with his Men, and quitted the Castle, which the *Romans* possessing easily became Masters of the City, the Walls whereof they demolish'd. Peace and Liberty were granted to all the Citizens; and this Year the two Consuls triumph'd, having finish'd both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* Wars in the Year 481. The latter of these had, with some Intermissions, continu'd seventy one Years; and over these the *Romans* triumph'd thirty times, namely, *Consuls* twenty six, *Dictators* twice, and *Pro-Consuls* as many.

Now the *Romans* grew much too powerful for their Neighbours, for the greatest Part of *Italy* was now conquer'd, an Accession being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but of the *Lucanians* also, and not long before of the *Hetrurians*. After this, the *Campanian* Legion, who had treacherously seiz'd upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themselves, were besieg'd, and upon Surrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, some extravagant and unruly Noblemen fell upon 'em and beat 'em; but the *Romans* were so just as to deliver 'em up to the *Apolloniates*. In the same Year the *Picentes* were subdu'd, and Colonies were sent to *Arminium* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was Silver first coin'd in *Rome*, whereas Brass had only been in use till now, their *U. C.* Riches being increas'd by their Conquests, and large 484. quantities of Silver were found in a Castle of the *Samnites*. A Year after, the *Sabines*, who some Years past had been made Denizons of *Rome*, receiv'd now also the Power of Voting in Elections. About four Years *Quæstors increas'd.* after that, the number of the *Quæstors* were encreas'd from four to eight; and in the same Year the reduction of the *Umbri* and *Sallentini*, together with the City

y of *Brunduſium*, compleated the Conqueſt of all *Italy*.

Now were the *Roman* Dominions much larger than ever, containing the whole Body of old *Italy*, and the ſeveral *Italian* Nations, being about 500 Miles long, and 130 broad, which comprehended about one half of that Country which now goes by the Name of *Italy*, as was formerly obſerv'd. Juſt at the ſame time began the firſt *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 489th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3740, in the 4th Year of the 128th *Olympiad*, 244 ſince the beginning of the *Conſular State*, 125 ſince the Deſtruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 65 ſince the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and 263 before our Saviour's Nativity. *U. C.* 489.

CHAP. IX.

From the Beginning of the firſt Punick *War, to the Beginning of the ſecond; the* Romans *now growing powerful by Sea as well as by Land.*

Containing the Space of 47 *Years.*

I. THE *Carthaginians* made up a very large and powerful Common-wealth, commanding moſt of that part of *Africa* which now goes by the general Name of *Barbary*; their Dominions extending about 2000 Miles in length, all bordering upon the Sea; having beſides the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and the greateſt part of *Sicily*, with other leſſer Iſles. The Occaſion of the *Romans* War with this Nation, was, their joining with *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* againſt the *Mamertines*, and for beſieging *Meſſana*, which oblig'd that People to ſend to *Rome* for Succour. The *Romans* had not forgot the *Carthaginians* aſſiſting the *Tarentines* againſt them not long before; and becauſe the former Carriage of the *Mamertines* was not eaſily juſtify'd, they made that their Pretence of their declaring War againſt the *Carthaginians*. And *Appius* *U. C.* 489.

Claudius, one of the Conſuls, was immediately ſent over to *Sicily* with an Army and a ſmall Fleet. With much Danger and Difficulty he paſs'd the Streights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, but with that Succeſs, that he rais'd the Siege of *Meſſana* in a ſhort time, and after that defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two ſeveral Battels. *Appius* return'd to *Rome* with a noble Triumph, which was the firſt that ever was obtain'd upon the Account of Foreign Actions. Notwithſtanding the great waſting of the People by continual Wars, 292224 Free Citizens were ceſs'd this Year; and in this Year *D. Junius Brutus* firſt brought in the Cuſtom of having Fencing Matches perform'd by *Gladiators* at Funerals, a Cuſtom very much in uſe afterwards.

The following Year, both the Conſuls were order'd for *Sicily*, with all their Legions. And they manag'd the War ſo ſucceſsfully, that going to inveſt *Syracuſe* it ſelf, *Hiero* was affrighted into Obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* moſt probably wou'd be Conquerors; and ſo he made Peace upon theſe Terms, *To reſtore all their Priſoners without Ranſom, and to pay a hundred Talents of Silver.* The *Romans* more readily embrac'd the Alliance, becauſe the *Carthaginians* being Maſters at Sea, they cou'd not ſafely ſupply the Armies with Proviſions and Neceſſaries, expecting that he ſhou'd chiefly take care about that Affair. *Valerius*, one of this Year's Conſuls, from *Meſſana* had the Surname of *Meſſala*, who alſo having taken *Catana*, carry'd from thence a new Sun-dial to *Rome*, *Papirius Curſor* having 30 Years before ſet up the firſt that ever was in this City. This, tho' not perfect, the People made uſe of 99 Years, till *M. Philippus* the *Cenſor* ſet up a perfect one by it; and about that time, *Scipio Naſica* being *Cenſor*, firſt made the equal Diviſion of the Day into Hours, by Water dropping out of one Veſſel into another. This Year the City being much afflicted with a Peſtilence, a *Dictator* was created

created for the Ceremony of Driving a Nail into *Jupiter*'s Temple: This was *Fulvius Maximus*, who made *Marcius Philippus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and he was the fourth *Dictator* created upon this Account. *Dic.* liv. *U. C.* 490.

The *Romans*, by the Alliance with *Hiero*, found themſelves ſo eas'd of the Burden of the War, that the following Year they ſent but two Legions to *Sicily*; at which time *Agrigentum* was inveſted by the *Romans*, and *Annibal*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, who came to relieve it, was overthrown by *Poſthumius* and *Mamilius* the Conſuls at Land; ſo after a long Siege it was taken. The News of this was very grateful to the Citizens of *Rome*, who had began to think of nothing leſs than the clearing of *Sicily*, and the Conqueſt of that Iſland; and to that they directed all their Counſels. On Land indeed they ſeem'd ſufficiently proſperous, for the two ſucceeding Conſuls manag'd the War with good Succeſs; but the *Carthaginians* without controverſy being entire Maſters at Sea, by that means procur'd the Maritime Towns to revolt to them: So that the War was not only balanc'd between the two Intereſts, but *Italy* was alſo grievouſly infeſted with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, while *Africk* was out of all danger. Theſe Conſiderations caus'd 'em diligently to apply themſelves to Sea-Affairs, of which they were wholly ignorant before; therefore they found it a matter of extraordinary difficulty as well to build Veſſels as to make uſe of 'em; for *Italy* had been as free from Shipwrights as from Seamen. Having throughly obſerv'd a *Carthaginian* Veſſel or two driven a-ſhore, they ſet about 100 Veſſels of five Oars of a ſide, and 20 of three, which they fitted out as well as they cou'd, after an odd way teaching their Men to row upon Dry-Land; well-knowing that their Courages muſt ſupply all other Defects.

Thus meanly rigg'd out, in the fourth Year of this War, the Conſuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventur'd

themſelves aboard, and more boldly ventur'd to engage an Enemy, who for many Ages had been the Inheritors of the Dominion of the Sea, both by their Power and their Skill; a thing much admir'd by all Hiſtorians. *Cornelius* the Admiral parting from the reſt of his Company with 17 Gallies to reduce *Lipara*, was ſurpriz'd by a greater number of the *Carthaginians*, and taken with the reſt of his Fleet. But his Collegue *Duilius* was much more ſucceſsful; firſt defeating 50 Sail of the Enemy, then falling upon the reſt of their Fleet, by the help of a new-invented Engine to grapple with their Veſſels, by which they cou'd board 'em, and fight as on Land, he obtain'd a ſignal Victory over 'em, taking 50 of their Veſſels; then purſuing it, rais'd the Siege of *Ægeſta*, and took *Marcella* by Storm. Theſe Succeſſes were ſo unexpected by the Senate, that they decreed *Duilius* unuſual Honours; for beſides his obtaining the Glory of the firſt Naval Triumph, he was ever after attended from Supper with Muſick and Flambeaus. *Annibal* on the other ſide, to ſecure himſelf from Puniſhment, with all ſpeed ſent one of his Friends to *Carthage* before the Battel was known here, who gave an Account to the Senate, that the *Romans* were under Sail with a great Fleet, and he wanted Inſtructions about engaging 'em. The Senate, upon this, gave Orders to fight without delay; to whom the Meſſenger reply'd, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown*; by which means he prevented their condemning an Action they had but juſt before approv'd of.

This Year the *Romans* had but ſmall Succeſs by Land, for a Breach between the Legions and the Auxiliaries occaſion'd a Separation; which Advantage *Amilcar* the General of the *Carthaginian* Forces, ſo far improv'd, as to cut off 4000 of 'em. But the Advantages gain'd by Sea ſo far animated the *Romans*, that the following Year they invaded the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and with ſo good Succeſs, that *Hanno* the

Carthaginian

Carthaginian General there, was ſlain, and his Army cut off by *Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul. This Victory was follow'd by another over *Annibal*, whom they ſurpriz'd at Sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*; for which the unfortunate Admiral was crucify'd by his own Soldiers that out-liv'd the Defeat. The next Year many Towns were loſt and gain'd in *Sicily* on both ſides; but above all, a noble Action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a Tribune of the Army, was moſt remarkable; for *Attilius Calatinus* the Conſul, having careleſly brought his Army into ſuch a deſperate Place, as there was no hopes of eſcaping, *Calpurnius*, with 300 choice Men, poſſeſs'd themſelves of an Eminence juſt by, and with incredible Courage ſo diverted the whole Body of the *Carthaginians*, that the Conſul's Army had opportunity in paſſing with little oppoſition. *Calpurnius* was the only Perſon that ſurviv'd of the 300, being miſerably wounded, and cover'd with dead Bodies. The next Year, *Attilius Regulus* the Conſul, ſubdu'd the Iſlands *Lipara* and *Melita*, the latter famous for the Shipwreck of St. *Paul*, and ſince call'd *Malta*: In which Year certain Prodigies in *Rome*, or the Belief of ſuch, occaſion'd the creating of a *Dictator*, for celebrating the *Latin* Holy-days, which was *Ogulneius Gallus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Letorius Plancianus*; and this was the ſecond *Dictator* created upon this Account. *Dic.* IV. *U. C.* 490.

II. Now had this War continu'd Eight Years; when the *Romans*, finding themſelves ſo ſtrong by Sea as well as by Land, reſolv'd to remove the Seat of the War into *Africk*; and accordingly put to Sea with a Fleet of 330 Sail, under the Command of the Conſul *Regulus* and *Manlius*. The *Carthaginians*, being ſenſible how neceſſary it was to keep the War from their own Walls, oppos'd 'em with a Fleet of 350 Sail, and a threefold Battel was fought on the ſame day, in which the *Romans*, by the help of their Grap- *U. C.* 497.

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ling Engines, and their undaunted Courages, became Conquerors, taking 54 Ships with all their Men, and ſinking 30, loſing themſelves but 24 without their Men. In purſuance of this Victory, they made a Deſcent upon *Africk*, whoſe nigheſt Part was about 200 Miles from *Sicily*, and ſhortly after had *Clupea* ſurrender'd to 'em, a City ſeated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they march'd into the Country, laying waſte all before them, which they did without oppoſition; but ſoon after they receiv'd Inſtructions from the *Senate*, that *Regulus* ſhould remain in *Africk*, in Character of *Proconſul*, with 40 Ships, 15000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, and *Manlius* ſhou'd return to *Rome* with the remaining Forces. *Regulus* encamping upon the River *Bagrada*, was forc'd to engage a monſtrous Serpent of miraculous bigneſs, which, with the great trouble of his Army, and by the help of Battering-Engines, he ſlew, ſending its Skin to *Rome*, which was 120 Foot long, according to *Livy* and *Gellius*.

The *Carthaginians* finding the *Romans* ſo ſucceſsful, oppos'd *Regulus* with a conſiderable Army; but fighting in a Place where their Horſe and Elephants cou'd do but little Service, were ſoon defeated, and *Tunetum* or *Tunis*, in a ſhort ſpace, was taken by *Regulus*. But the *Carthaginians* having procur'd *Xantippus*, a brave *Lacedæmonian*, for their General, ſoon after gave *Regulus* a dreadful Overthrow, he himſelf being taken Priſoner, and moſt of his Army cut off, the reſt eſcaping to *Clupea*. But *Xantippus* met with more barbarous and ungrateful Uſage than *Regulus*; for the *Carthaginians* pretending to conduct him home honourably, commanded the Seamen to throw him and his Companions over-board, leſt ſo great a Victory ſhou'd be aſcrib'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Appian* relates it. The *Romans* were beſieg'd in *Clupea*, till their Enemies perceiving the ſmall probability of reducing 'em, broke up the Siege, and made all Preparations

for

for the oppoſing the Succours ſent under *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the following Year's Conſuls. Theſe Conſuls putting to Sea with 350 Sail, were met with by the *Carthaginians*, nigh their own Coaſts, whom they intirely defeated, taking 30 Ships, and ſinking 104, with the loſs only of 9 of their own. After this the Conſuls took in the *Roman* Garriſon from *Clupea*, and ſet Sail again for *Sicily*, expecting to have ſeveral Towns there ſurrender'd to 'em upon the News of this Victory; but before they cou'd make the Shore, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful Storm, that moſt of their Ships were ſwallow'd up, or ſplit upon Rocks; ſo that the Shore was fill'd with dead Bodies and broken Pieces of Ships. Both the Conſuls periſh'd, and thoſe few that eſcap'd, *Hiero* kindly receiv'd; and furniſhing 'em with Clothes and other Neceſſaries, convey'd 'em ſafe to *Meſſana*.

Karthalo the *Carthaginian* immediately taking advantage of this great Misfortune, beſieg'd *Agrigentum*, and ſoon after took it, and demoliſh'd the Fortifications of it. The *Romans* nothing diſcouraag'd at the great Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the Tempeſt, immediately ſet about building 220 Veſſels, which they proſecuted with that extraordinary diligence and expedition, that in three Months time they were both built and launch'd. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, with his Veterane Troops and Levies arriv'd at *Sicily*, with a Fleet of 200 Sail old and new. The Conſuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being order'd for *Sicily* this Year, manag'd the War ſo proſperouſly, as to take ſeveral Towns; after which they return'd. Their Succeſſors *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following Spring, paſs'd into *Sicily* with the whole Fleet, and from thence to *Africk*, where, coaſting about, they landed in many places, but perform'd nothing very memorable. At laſt they touch'd upon the Iſland of the *Lotophagi*, call'd *Meninx*, nigh the leſſer *Syrtis*; where, being ignorant of theſe Coaſts, they fell upon certain

certain Quick-ſands; but getting off with much difficulty, they return'd to *Panormus* in *Sicily* in a flying Poſture. Then ſailing for *Rome*, through the Streights, very unadviſedly, they were taken in a Storm, and 150 of the Ships loſt. This ſame Year the Cenſors calling over the *Senate*, turn'd out thirteen Members for Miſdemeanors, and performing the *Luſtrum*, 297797 Free Citizens were poll'd.

Tho' the Senate and People of *Rome* were extremely vigorous in all great Attempts, being puſh'd on by an extraordinary Deſire of Glory; yet the Loſſes at Sea had now been ſo great and numerous, that they were conſtrain'd to omit Naval Preparations, and place all their Hopes in their Land-Forces. *Cæcilius* and *Metellus* were ſent into *Sicily* with the Legions, and 60 Tranſport-Veſſels, only for Neceſſaries; and they did not only yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but fear'd 'em alſo at Land, by reaſon of their great Preparations, but eſpecially for their Elephants, which had oftentimes much annoy'd 'em. *Aſdrubal*, the *Punick* General, underſtanding their Fears, and that one of the Conſuls was now return'd into *Italy* with half the Army, with great Aſſurance and Confidence ravag'd all the Country about *Panormus*, and with the more Careleſneſs and Security, becauſe *Metellus* kept himſelf within the Walls. But the Conſul taking an Opportunity, ſo well plac'd his Men againſt the Elephants, that when *Aſdrubal* came nigh the Town, he gave him a dreadful Overthrow, killing 20000 Men, and taking 26 Elephants; for which he had a noble Triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately loſt all *Sicily* except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to the former of which Places *Aſdrubal* eſcap'd; but being condemn'd at *Carthage*, he was taken and put to death as ſoon as he return'd; the unhappy Fate of many *Carthaginian* Generals.

U. C. 502. III. The *Carthaginians* now finding themſelves great Loſers

Loſers, and weary'd out with a tedious War, which had now continu'd 14 Years, began to ſollicit for Peace, and ſent to the Senate to treat about it: With the Ambaſſadors, *Regulus* alſo was ſent, who had been five Years Priſoner, and was now bound with an Oath to return to *Carthage*, in caſe there was no Peace nor Exchange of Priſoners made. *Regulus*, contrary to the expectation of all, openly in the Senate diſcover-ed the Weakneſs of the *Carthaginians*, and adviſ'd the *Romans* to make no Peace; ſhewing withal, *both how honourable and profitable it might be to the State to proſecute the War.* The Senate ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd with the Advice, if it were to be follow'd without prejudice to the Adviſer, whom they pity'd as well as admir'd, and cou'd not determine any thing to the ruin of a Perſon who had deſerv'd ſo well at their hands. Upon that account they deſir'd him to ſtay; but he, with an undaunted Reſolution, told 'em, *That he knew that Death and the extremeſt Tortures were preparing for him at* Carthage, *but ſtill he cou'd not comply with their Requeſts, who might have better us'd their Commands, had he been ſtill his Country's Servant, as he was* Africk's *Slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a Citizen of* Rome: *Yet however he had ſo much of the true Spirit of a* Roman, *that he cou'd do nothing that was baſe or diſhonourable; and that he leſs fear'd the Tortures of a cruel Rack, than the Shame of an infamous Action, for the former only touch'd the Body, whereas the latter pierc'd the Mind.*

All means were uſed to perſuade *Regulus* to ſtay, both by his Friends and others, which he avoided as much as poſſible, refuſing to ſpeak with his Wife, and ſhunning the Embraces and Kiſſes of his little Children: And when the Negotiation was at an end, he return'd to *Carthage*, there ending his Days in great Torments. For, firſt they cut off his Eye-lids, keeping him in a dark Dungeon for a while, then brought him out in the midſt of the Day, with his

Face

Face turn'd full againſt the Sun: At laſt he was put into a Cheſt or Barrel, ſtuck with Nails with the Points inward, and ſo narrow, that he cou'd have no Eaſe, where he died with the Extremity of the Pain. When the Senate heard of the barbarous Uſage of *Regulus*, in great Rage they deliver'd up ſome Priſoners of the Higheſt Note and Quality to *Marcia* his Wife, who ſhut 'em up in an Armory ſtuck round with Iron Spikes, deſigning to torment them after the ſame manner that her Husband had been, and keeping 'em five Days together without Meat; in which time *Boſtar* the *Carthaginian*, with Pain and Hunger, died, but *Hamilcar*, being a ſtronger Man, was kept in, together with the dead Body of *Boſtar*, five Days longer, having only ſo much Suſtenance allow'd him as might ſerve to prolong his Life in Miſery. At laſt, the Magiſtrates being inform'd of this, began to relent, and ſtrictly forbid any more ſuch Uſage, commanding that *Boſtar*'s Aſhes ſhou'd be ſent home, and the reſt of the Priſoners ſhou'd be us'd more moderately: Which was done to let the Enemy know, *That the* Romans *were too generous to inſult over the Miſeries of unhappy Men, or to countenance any cruel Actions, tho' they had been incited by the higheſt Provocations, and all the Sentiments of a moſt juſt Retaliation.*

The following Year, becauſe the Land-Forces were very fearful of the Enemies Elephants, and purſu'd their Affairs with ſmall Vigour, the *Romans* provided another Fleet, and beſieg'd *Lilybæum* by Sea and Land, a Town ſtanding upon the Southern Promontory of *Sicily*, over-againſt *Africk*. The *Romans* were very unſucceſsful in this Expedition, loſing moſt of their Ships in a ſhort time, partly by the Miſmanagement of the Conſul *Claudius Pulcher*, and partly by other Misfortunes; ſo that the whole Fleet was ſoon reduc'd to an inconſiderable number. *Lilybæum* was ſtill cloſely inveſted by Land; but the ſmall Succeſſes of the preſent Conſuls, and other Loſſes, occaſion'd

the

the creating of a *Dictator* to command the Forces in *Sicily*: This was *Attilius Calatinus*, who appointed *Cæcilius Metellus*, who had Triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*, for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, and was the firſt *Dictator* that ever led an Army out of *Italy*; but nothing memorable was acted by him in *Sicily* before the time of his Office expir'd. The *Romans* now began to feel the Weight and Charge of the War more than ever; and they found that the City was not only drain'd of Money, but of Men too: For in the next *Luſtrum* there were but 251222 Free Citizens poll'd. *Dic.* lvi. *U. C.* 504.

For Seven Years did the *Romans* abſtain from any Sea-preparations, in which time another *Dictator* was created in the Conſuls Abſence for holding the *Comitia* for a New Election, which was *Coruncanius Nepos*, and his *Maſter of the Horſe* was *Fulvius Flaccus*. At this time *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, extreamly infeſted the Coaſts of *Italy*, which made the *Romans* reſolve once more to try their Fortune at Sea: and accordingly they fitted out a conſiderable Navy out of their private Purſes, the Treaſury being now exhauſted. With this they gave the *Carthaginians* a notable Overthrow nigh the *Ægatian* Iſles, taking and ſinking 120 of their Ships, according to the moſt modeſt Computation. This great Loſs brought 'em to a Peace, which, after two Conſultations, was concluded upon theſe Articles; Firſt, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhou'd lay down* 1000 *Talents of Silver, and* 2200 *more within* 10 *Years time*: Secondly, *That they ſhou'd quit* Sicily, *with all the Iſles thereabouts*: Thirdly, *That they ſhou'd never make War upon the* Syracuſians, *or their Allies, nor come with any Veſſels of War within the* Roman *Dominions*: And Fourthly, *That they ſhou'd deliver up all their Priſoners without Ranſom, as alſo the Deſerters*. Thus ended the firſt *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, by the *Greek* Writers call'd the *Sicilian* War, after it had conttnu'd 24 Years, in the 513th Year of the City, 23 Years before the Second, and 249 before our Saviour's Nativity; *Dic.* lvii. *U. C.* 510.

ty; wherein the *Romans* are said to have lost 7[illegible] Vessels, and the *Carthaginians* no more than 500.

U. C. 513. *Tribes* encreas'd the last time.

IV. All Affairs now seem'd to succeed prosperously with the *Romans*, and in the same Year that the long War was ended, two New *Tribes* were added to the rest, namely, the *Veline* and *Quirine*, which now made up the number 35, which number was never after exceeded. At this time the *Romans* began to grow more polite, a little applying their Minds to something of Study and Learning, particularly *Poetry*; and the Year after this War, the first *Tragedies* and *Comedies* were made by *Livius Andronicus*, a *Grecian* by Birth, one Year before *Ennius* the Poet was born, about 160 after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and 62 after that of *Menander*. He drew the Minds of the People from the Use of the *Satyr*, which had immediately succeeded the old *Stage-Plays*, call'd *Ludi Fescennini*, spoken of in the Sixth Chapter of this Book; which *Satyr* was a sort of a *Dramatick* Poem, full of Jests and Raillery, wholly different from the *Satyrs* of *Lucilius* and *Horace* afterwards. *Nævius* was the first Poet that follow'd his Example, five Years after, the Year before which were celebrated the great *Secular Games* the third time, which were also call'd *Ludi magni* and *Ludi Tarentini*, and were of two sorts: the Greater, celebrated every 120 Years, and first instituted in the 298th Year of the City, and the Lesser, celebrated every 100 Years, and first instituted about the 305th Year of the City, after the Banishment of the *Decemviri*: But these now celebrated were of the former sort. There were also other Games call'd *Ludi Tarentini*, which were very different from the *Ludi Sæculares*, which I mention that Learners may avoid Confusion.

U. C. 514. First *Tragedies* and *Comedies* in *Rome*.

Ludi Sæculares.

But to return to the *Roman* Affairs; the *Carthaginians*, soon after their Peace with the *Romans*, fell into a bloody War between themselves and their Merce-

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nary Soldiers, which proceeded both from their want of Pay, and their want of Employment; and this, with much difficulty and loſs, was ended by *Amilcar*, after more than three Years. During which time, ſeveral of the *Romans* who traded into *Africk*, were ſecur'd by the *Carthaginians*, leſt they ſhou'd furniſh their Enemies with Proviſions. But when Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Carthage* to complain of this Uſage, they kindly diſmiſs'd all that were in Cuſtody; which ſo affected the *Romans*, that they generouſly ſent 'em all their Priſoners without Ranſom, and for a ſhort ſpace there ſeem'd to be an extraordinary Friendſhip between theſe two Nations. But ſoon after their Troubles were ended, the *Sardinians* inviting over the *Romans* to that Iſland, they ſail'd thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought themſelves to have the greateſt Right to it; ſo they prepar'd to ſend Forces thither. The *Romans* took an Occaſion from thence to proclaim War againſt 'em, complaining, *That theſe Preparations were deſign'd more againſt them, than the* Sardinians. This ſo terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, who found themſelves in no condition to begin a new War, that they were forc'd to yield to Neceſſity, and not only quit all *Sardinia*, but further, to pay the *Romans* 1200 Talents. This, tho' ſubmitted to at preſent, prov'd afterwards the Occaſion of a more bloody and dangerous War than the former. In the ſixth Year after the *Carthaginian* War, the *Romans* being in perfect Peace with all their Neighbours, the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut the ſecond time, it having been open 437 Years. In the following Year was the firſt Divorce in *Rome*; and two Years after a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia*, and this was *C. Duilius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Aurelius Cotta*. *Dict.* lviii. *U. C.* 522.

For five Years ſucceſſively the Temple of *Janus* continu'd ſhut, and in the fixth was open'd by a War with the *Illyrians*, a People nigh *Greece*, who inhabited

that Country which is now call'd *Dalmatia*: For *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, elevated by her Prosperity in Peace, gave her Subjects Commission to rob all they met with at Sea; some of which happen'd to be Merchants of *Italy*, whom they used very barbarously. Upon Intelligence of this, the *Romans* dispatch'd two Ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanus*, to *Illyricum*, to demand Satisfaction. *Teuta* told 'em, *That she would take care that no publick Injury shou'd be offer'd to the* Romans; *but she thought it was never the Custom of Princes to hinder their Subjects from making what private Advantage they cou'd from the Sea.* But *Lucius* smartly told her, *That the* Romans *had learn'd a better Custom, which was, to punish Private Injuries with a Publick Revenge, and to relieve the Distressed; and they, by the help of the Gods, wou'd take care to reform her Princely Customs.* The Queen took this Freedom so heinously, that contrary to the Law of Nations, she sent after the Ambassadors, and slew *Lucius*. This so enrag'd the *Romans*, that War was immediately proclaim'd against her, and the two Consuls sent to *Illyricum*, *Fulvius* with a Fleet, and *Posthumius* with a Land Army. *Fulvius* had *Corcyra* surrender'd to him at his first appearance before it, and soon after took *Apollonia*; then the Armies joining, the Consuls reliev'd *Dyrrachium*, which was invested by the *Illyrians*. Soon after most of the *Illyrick* Towns were surrender'd to the Consuls; whereupon the Queen retir'd with a few Followers to *Rhizon*, a strong Town, and the Spring after, sent to *Rome* to beg Peace, which was granted upon these Terms: First, *To pay a yearly Tribute:* Secondly, *To quit all* Illyricum, *except a very few Places:* And, Thirdly, *Not to sail beyond the River* Lissus *with more than two Barks, and those unarm'd.* Thus ended the first *Illyrian* War, in less than two Years time.

V. These Wars in *Illyricum* still inlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, and their generous Behaviour gain'd 'em

'em as much Love as their Valour had got 'em Reputation in thoſe Parts, particularly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the latter of which paſs'd a Decree in Honour of 'em, which made 'em free of the *Iſthmian* Games, one of the Four Solemn Exerciſes of *Greece*. And this ſame Year were the *Prætors* increas'd to Four, one being ſent to the Province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time Domeſtick Diſturbances about the Diviſion of Lands taken from the *Gauls*, awaken'd that Nation, who concluding, that the *Romans* fought more out of Covetouſneſs than Glory, began that War, which the *Latin* Hiſtorians call'd *Bellum Gallicum Ciſalpinum*. Theſe fierce People, now join'd in Confederacy, ſent over the *Alps* for other *Gauls*, call'd *Geſſatæ*, nigh the River *Rhoſne*, who came over with a prodigious Force, and joining with the reſt, made an Irruption into *Hetruria*, with an Army of 50000 Foot and 20000 Horſe. The *Romans*, to oppoſe 'em, made the greateſt Preparations that had been known, all *Italy* being up in Arms, to the number of Seven or eight hundred thouſand Men, which were plac'd in ſeveral Parts to be in readineſs upon all occaſions: And the Conſuls themſelves led a particular Army of 50800 Foot, and 4200 Horſe. *Prætors* encreas'd. *U. C.* 527.

The *Gauls* now entring *Hetruria*, waſted all with Fire and Sword till they came to *Cluſium*, about three Days Journey from *Rome*; where they were block'd up by the *Romans*, the *Prætor* on their Back, and the *Conſuls* before, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the Paſſes, inſomuch that they were forc'd to form two Fronts, and fight very diſadvantageouſly, both by reaſon of their Nakedneſs, and the Unfitneſs of their Arms. But the Vanity of the *Geſſatæ* prov'd the moſt injurious to 'em, for they throwing off all their Clothes, would needs fight naked, and began the firſt Charge; and theſe being eaſily broken, ſo diſcourag'd the reſt, that all fled. The *Gauls* were miſerably ſlaughter'd, *U. C.* 529.

40000 of 'em being kill'd, and 10000 taken Prisoners; among the rest, *Concolitanus*, a King of the *Gessatæ*. The Consuls obtain'd a most spendid Triumph for this Victory, scarce any being more remarkable for the number of the Prisoners, or the Variety and Value of the Spoils. The next Year great Inroads were made into the Territories of the *Gauls*, they being several times overthrown: At which time the *Consuls* being abroad, a *Dictator* was created to hold
Dic. lix. the *Comitia* for a new Election; which was *Cæcilius*
U. C. *Metellus*, and *Fabius Buteo* his *Master of the Horse*, or
530. Lieutenant.

The *Gauls* were now so harrass'd and weakned, that they sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to beg Peace on any Terms; but *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cornelius Scipio* put a stop to that Affair, and stirr'd up the Multitude to continue the War. Whereupon the *Gauls*, now grown desperate, resolv'd to make their last Efforts, and procur'd 30000 Auxiliaries from the *Gessatæ*. The Consuls march'd into the Country of the *Insubres*, and open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Acerræ*; whereupon the *Gauls* invested *Clastidium*, a Confederate Town of the *Romans*. *Marcellus*, with two Thirds of his Cavalry, and a small Detachment of Light-arm'd Footmen, march'd both Night and Day towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the great Inequality of the Numbers, and the extraordinary Fatigue of the long Marches, he fell upon 'em, and after a bloody Battel overthrew 'em. *Marcellus*
U. C. with his own Hands kill'd *Virdomarus* King of the
532. *Gessatæ*, and dedicated the third *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, to *Jupiter Feretrius*, obtaining likewise a noble Triumph. Those that escap'd fled to *Mediolanum*, now call'd *Milan*, the chief City of the *Insubrian Gauls*, which being shortly after taken, the *Gallick* War was ended, after six Years continuance, to the considerable Enlargement of the *Roman* Dominions, Colonies being planted not long after at *Cremona*, and at *Placentia*.

About

About this time, a multitude of *Libertini* or Freed Slaves, which liv'd diſpers'd among all the *Tribes*, gave great Diſturbances to the City, which occaſion'd the *Cenſors* at the next *Luſtrum* to confine all theſe to four *Tribes*, namely, *Eſquilina*, *Palatina*, *Suburrana*, and *Collina*: At which time were alſo 270213 Free Citizens ceſs'd. In the ſame Cenſorſhip *C. Flaminius*, one of the Cenſors, built a *Cirque*, and pav'd the High-way as far as *Ariminum*, 130 Miles, both which great Works were afterwards call'd by his Name. Within a Year after, the *Illyrians* revolting, were reduc'd by *Æmilius* and *Livius* the Conſuls, tho' with ſome difficulty and trouble. But the greateſt Concern the *Romans* had now, was the ſucceſsful progreſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, who now had gain'd a great part of that Country, and more than all, had taken *Saguntus*, a Town in Alliance with *Rome*, after they were deſir'd to deſiſt. This caus'd the *Romans* to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, to require their General *Hannibal* to be deliver'd up, and if that were not granted, to denounce War. The Ambaſſadors finding the *Carthaginians* very little inclin'd to give any Satisfaction, the Senior of 'em holding out the Skirt of his Robe, told the Senate, *Here we bring you War or Peace; chuſe which you pleaſe.* The chief of the other anſwer'd, *Deliver which you will:* The *Roman* replying, *War*; the other accepted of it. And thus began the ſecond *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, 23 Years after the firſt, in the 536th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3787, in the third Year of the 140 *Olympiad*, 291 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 172 ſince the Deſtruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 112 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 216 before our Saviour's Nativity. *U. C.* 534.

CHAP. X.

From the Beginning of the Second Punick *War, to the Finiſhing of it by* Scipio Africanus; *when the* Romans *became perfect in the Arts of War.*

Containing the Space of 17 *Years.*

U. C. 536. I. THE War being broke out a ſecond time between theſe two Rival Nations, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the latter committing the management of it to *Hannibal*, *Amilcar*'s Son, now in *Spain*, a Perſon of wonderful Abilities as to War, both for Conduct and Valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable Body, as well as a fierce, daring, and undaunted Mind. This General had ſworn himſelf a mortal Enemy to the *Romans*; and having over-run all *Spain* to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, he reſolv'd to run any Danger or Hazard, ſo he might procure the Ruine of the *Roman* State; therefore leaving *Hanno* with a ſufficient Force to guard that Country, he croſs'd the *Pyrenæan* Mountains into *Gaul*, with an Army of 50000 Foot, and 9000 Horſe, of different Nations and Languages. From whence he ſhortly paſs'd the *Rhoſne* with great Danger and Difficulty, the River there being ſwift and ſpacious, and its Banks cover'd with many and dangerous Enemies. In ten Days March from thence, he arriv'd at the Foot of the *Alps*, over which he reſolv'd to paſs into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the Seaſon, the Fears of his Men, his Ignorance of the Ways, the Labour of the March, and all the numerous Perils and Hazards that attended ſo vaſt an Enterprize.

It was now in the midſt of Winter, and every thing appear'd ſtrange and dreadful, the prodigious Height of the Mountains, cap'd with Snows; the

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rude miſ-ſhapen Cottages on the ſides of craggy ſteep Rocks; the Cattel, Sheep, and Horſes, parch'd and ſtiff with Cold; the People barbarous, and with long ſhagg'd Hair like Savages, and nothing to be ſeen but a general Scene of Deformity and Horrour. The Soldiers in this March, beſides their Fears, were extreamly afflicted with the greatneſs of the Colds, and grievouſly haraſs'd by the narrow Defiles, the ſlippery Paſſages, and the craggy Rocks, but more eſpecially by the Inhabitants, who, from their Lurking-places fell often upon 'em with great Slaughter; and ſometimes by their unuſual Shouts and Out-cries, which were redoubl'd by the Echoes between the Rocks and Valleys, their Horſes were ſo affrighted as they frequently overthrew themſelves, Men, and Carriages, down theſe narrow Precipices, who falling from one Rock to another, made a dreadful rumbling, as if it were the Fall of ſome Caſtle or great Building. Nevertheleſs, after nine Days painful March thro' theſe untrodden Paths, *Hannibal* at laſt gain'd the Top of theſe vaſt Mountains, where he refreſh'd his Men, and encourag'd their fainting Minds by a diſtant Proſpect of *Italy*, telling 'em, *That now, like hardy Soldiers, they had mounted not only the Walls of* Italy, *but thoſe of* Rome *too.*

After two Days reſpite among theſe diſmal places, the Army mov'd forward, and were forc'd to encounter with new Difficulties; for prodigious Quantities of Snow being lately fallen, as many Men were loſt in the depth of that, as had been before by the Enemies Encounters. And now a ſort of Deſpair appear'd in almoſt every Man's Face but *Hannibal*'s, who ſtill remain'd ſteady and unſhaken, inciting 'em forward till they arriv'd at a place, which was a rocky Precipice, where the Earth had lately fallen away to the depth of 1000 Foot; ſo that it was impoſſible to paſs with Elephants or Horſes. Whereupon he endeavour'd to bring his Men through other unknown

Ways; but finding the Snow had made 'em impaſſable, he was forc'd to betake himſelf to the levelling the Rock. In order to that, great numbers of huge Trees were fell'd, and a mighty Pile made againſt it, and ſet on fire; when the Rock was red hot, they ſoftned and putrefy'd it with Vinegar, as *Livy* relates it, and then with wonderful Labour cleav'd it, leſſening the Deſcent by ſuch moderate Turnings, that not only the Beaſts of Burden, but the Elephants alſo, might ſafely paſs. Four Days indefatigable Toil was employ'd about this Rock, the Beaſts the mean while being almoſt ſtarv'd, having had very little Suſtenance all that time. But coming lower, certain Valleys afforded Paſture, where the Cattle were refreſh'd, and Reſt allow'd the weary Soldiers. From thence *Hannibal* deſcended into the Plains, having been fifteen Days in paſſing the *Alps*, it being now the fifth Month after his ſetting out from *New Carthage*, which was a City built by *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*. At his arrival in the Country of the *Inſubres*, he found his Army reduc'd to about 18000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, according to *Polybius*, having loſt moſt of 'em upon the *Alps*.

Scipio the Conſul hearing of *Hannibal*'s March, haſten'd to meet him, before his Men were well refreſh'd. Both Armies met at *Ticinum* (now *Pavia*) in which Battel the Conſul being wounded, was ſav'd by the great Valour of his young Son, afterwards call'd *Africanus*, and in a few Hours was defeated, eſpecially by the means of the *Numidian* Cavalry, who unexpectedly fell upon his Rear. Soon after this Defeat, *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, out of *Sicily*, join'd *Scipio* at the River *Trebia*. *Sempronius* having been ſucceſsful in ſome Skirmiſhes, reſolv'd to give the Enemy Battel, before too many of the *Gauls* were join'd him, tho' *Scipio* was much againſt it, who was now laid up of his Wounds. *Hannibal* knowing the *Gauls* to be all at his Devotion, and finding his own Men freſh and vigorous, endeavour'd at nothing more

than

han a Battel. Upon the nigh approach of theſe Armies, *Hannibal* convey'd 1000 choice Horſe into a private Place, and another Party he ſent to brave the *Romans* before they cou'd provide againſt the extremity of the Weather by Meat or Drink; ſo that engaging with Cold and Hunger, paſſing the River up to the Arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charg'd both in Front and Rear, they were intirely defeated, tho' not without great Slaughter of the Enemy, through whoſe Ranks 10000 deſperately broke, and eſcap'd to *Placentia*, 26000 being either ſlain, taken, or drown'd in the River. The *Carthaginians* having done what they were able in purſuing, retir'd to the Camp ſo ſtupefy'd with Cold, that they were ſcarcely ſenſible of their Victory; for Rain mixt with Snow, and intolerable Cold, kill'd many of their Men, and almoſt all their Beaſts and Elephants. Thus *Hannibal* was now as ſucceſsful in his Battels, as before he had been daring in his Marches, the *Romans* never having met with a more formidable Enemy, or a more expert General.

II. The loſs of theſe two Battels caus'd the *Romans* to be more diligent in their Preparations for the next Campaign; for the managing of which, *C. Flaminius*, and *Servilius Geminus* were choſen Conſuls: The former of theſe had a good Faculty of Speaking, but no great Skill in War. *Hannibal* having all this while kept in the Country of the *Gauls*, where he had recruited and ſtrengthned his Army, now reſolv'd to change the Seat of the War, and march into *Hetruria*; and after ſome Conſultation about the Way thither, he fixt upon that of the Fens, as ſhort and unexpected to the Enemy, tho' far more difficult to paſs. Here they found a miſerable Paſſage, being forc'd to march three or four Days and Nights thro' nothing but Water, without any ſleep or reſt, which ſorely diſtreſs'd his Men; many of the Beaſts were left dead in the Mud, and *U. C.* 537.

and the Hoofs came off the Horſes Feet. *Hannibal* himſelf riding upon an Elephant, which was the only one left alive, eſcap'd with his Life, but got intollerable Pains in his Eyes, and loſt one of them entirely. Being at laſt arrived upon dry Ground, and underſtanding *Flaminius*'s fiery Temper, the better to entrap him, he paſs'd by his Camp, and march'd farther into the Country, waſting it with Fire and Sword. This inrag'd *Flaminius*, who thought himſelf ſlighted and deſpis'd by the Enemy; and when he was advis'd by ſome *to uſe great Caution, and not raſhly purſue, eſpecially by reaſon of the Enemies Cavalry, but above all things to ſtay for the Conjunction of his Colleagues Forces*, he cou'd by no means bear their Words; but riſing with all his Troops, he began his March, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, his Army being follow'd with a great number of Rabble laden with Chains, Bonds, and the like, for the Priſoners and Booty.

Hannibal was now at a Lake call'd *Thraſymene*, nigh which were certain Mountains, and between them and the Lake was a narrow Paſſage leading to a Valley juſt by, encompaſs'd with a Ridge of Hills. Theſe Hills *Hannibal* made choice of, placing and diſpoſing his Men round about, ſo that when *Flaminius* follow'd him into the Valley, he was immediately hemm'd in, and attack'd on all ſides, to the cutting off of his whole Army, and the loſs of his own Life; and this was done almoſt before they cou'd ſee who engag'd 'em, by reaſon of a Miſt which was riſen from the Lake. About 15000 of the *Romans* fell in the Valley, and 6000 eſcap'd to a Village, where they were forc'd to yield themſelves Priſoners. *Hannibal* gathering all his Priſoners together, to the number of 15000, kept the *Romans*, but diſmiſs'd the *Latins* without Ranſom; and he ſought alſo for the Conſul's Body to bury it, but cou'd not find it. *Servilius*, the other Conſul, who lay at *Ariminum*, having Intelligence

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of *Hannibal*'s March into *Hetruria*, with all ſpeed detach'd a Party of 4000 Men, commanded by *Centinius*, to joyn *Flaminius*, if poſſible, before the Battel. *Hannibal* hearing of this Supply, immediately after his Victory, detach'd out a ſufficient Party under *Maherbal*, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and forc'd the reſt to a Hill, where they yielded themſelves Priſoners.

The *Romans* were now in a great Conſternation at theſe vaſt Loſſes, and upon mature Deliberation, they found it neceſſary to have a General with abſolute Authority; whereupon they reſolv'd upon a *Dictator*, which was *Fabius Maximus*, a Perſon of extraordinary Wiſdom and Experience, in whom was a happy mixture of Caution and Boldneſs. He made choice of *Minutius Rufus* for his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who was of a Temper more hot and violent than himſelf. Having made what Preparations he was able, he ſet forward to meet *Hannibal*, with little Intention to fight him, but rather to wait his Motions, ſtraiten his Quarters, and cut off his Proviſions, which he knew wou'd be the moſt effectual way to ruin him, in a Country ſo far from his own. He always encamp'd on the higheſt Grounds, free from the Inſults of the Enemies Cavalry, ſtill keeping pace with 'em; when they march'd he follow'd 'em; when they encamp'd, he did the ſame, but at ſuch a diſtance as not to be forc'd to engage; by which means he gave them no Reſt, but kept 'em in a continual Alarum. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the name of *Cunctator*, made moſt Men ſuſpect his Courage; except *Hannibal* himſelf, who was extreamly troubl'd and inrag'd at it, uſing all poſſible Artifices to make *Fabius* and his Actions become deſpicable; ſometimes by braving him in his Camp, and other times by waſting the Country round him. Soon after, *Hannibal* deſigning for *Caſinum*, was by a miſtake conducted to *Caſilinum* nigh *Campania*, where

Dic. lx, *U. C.* 537.

where entring a Valley environ'd with Mountains, *Fabius* detach'd 4000 choice Men who poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Entrance, and with another Party cut off 800 of his Rear, putting his whole Army into ſome diſorder. *Hannibal* finding himſelf block'd up, and in a dangerous condition, one Night he order'd ſmall Faggots and lighted Torches to be ty'd to the Horns of 2000 Oxen, which by their toſſing their Horns, and ſcattering the Fire, ſo frighted the Party that guarded the Entrance that they quitted their Poſts; and by this Stratagem *Hannibal* drew off his Army, and eſcap'd, tho' with conſiderable damage to his Rear.

This Action, tho' excellently well manag'd by *Fabius*, procur'd many complaints againſt him; and *Hannibal*, to improve their Hatred, ravag'd the Country about, but carefully ſpar'd *Fabius*'s Lands, to render him ſuſpected of a ſecret correſpondence with him. Theſe Suſpicions, and *Fabius*'s want of Courage, as his Men believ'd, prov'd ſo prejudicial to him, that in his Abſence ſoon after, *Minutius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe*, having skirmiſh'd with ſome Succeſs, procur'd ſo much Favour from the Multitude, that his Power was made equal with the *Dictator*'s; which was a thing beyond all Example. *Minutius* was ſo exalted with his late Succeſſes and this new Honour, that he reſolv'd, contrary to all the Perſwaſions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his Part of his Army, which he did; where he was cunningly drawn in by *Hannibal* to a diſadvantageous Place, and was in great danger of being intirely defeated, when *Fabius*, who had been a careful Obſerver of this Action from an Eminence in his Camp, came in, and falling upon the Enemy with extraordinary Skill and Courage, ſoon forc'd 'em to retreat, and ſav'd *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this Battel, told his Friends, *That he thought the Cloud which had ſo long hover'd upon the Mountains would ſome time break upon 'em with a Storm.* As for *Minutius*,

ius, he was ſo far convinc'd of his former Raſhneſs, that he confeſs'd his Error to *Fabius*, whom he now call'd his Father, and renouncing his new Power again, ſubjected his Office freely to the *Dictatorſhip*.

Soon after *Fabius*'s time was expir'd, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Conſuls*, which was *Vetturius Philo*, and *Pomponius Matho* was his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The new *Conſuls* were *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, the former a prudent experienc'd Perſon, the latter a hot, raſh, and inconſiderate Man. Theſe had gather'd together an Army of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, which gave great Hopes to the People, but rais'd as great Fears in ſome of the wiſer ſort, eſpecially *Fabius*, who with all the powerful Arguments imaginable advis'd *Æmilius*, *To beware of the Policy of* Hannibal, *and the Raſhneſs of* Varro. Both Armies met at a Village in *Apulia* call'd *Cannæ*, where *Varro* reſolv'd to engage contrary to *Æmilius*'s Advice, the Enemy, being about 40000 Foot and 20000 Horſe. This Battel was fought with dreadful Fury on both ſides, and *Hannibal* had plac'd his Men with all poſſible Skill and Art, ſo that the *Romans* were not only forc'd to fight with Wind, Duſt, and Sun, but preſſing forwards, were in a little time almoſt ſurrounded. In ſhort, the Abilities of the *Punick* General at this time were more apparent than ever, who more over-match'd them in Skill than they exceeded him in Numbers, making a moſt miſerable Slaughter of the *Romans*, till quite wearied out, he commanded his Soldiers to give over. *Æmilius* was found deſperately wounded by *Lentulus* a Colonel, who offer'd him his Horſe to fly; but the Conſul with weeping Eyes deſir'd him *to make uſe of it himſelf, and go tell* Fabius *that he had follow'd his Directions to the laſt, but Fate had conquer'd him*: and then falling among the dead Bodies, he expir'd. In this Battel the *Romans* loſt 50000 Men. *Polybius* ſays 70000, 2 *Quæſtors*, 21 *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorian*

Dic. lxi. *U. C.* 538.

natorian Order, and ſo many *Equites* or Knights, that 'tis ſaid that three Buſhels of their Rings were ſent to *Carthage*; the Enemy having loſt but 5700 Men.

Never was any thing ſo terrible and dreadful to *Rome* as the News of this fatal Defeat; never was the City ſo ſadly fill'd with Terror and Tumult; and never was a more univerſal Mourning and Lamentation throughout all the Streets, than at this time. The Citizens were all in an Uproar and Conſternation, and the *Senators* themſelves in great Trouble and Confuſion, being extreamly diſturb'd in their Debates by the diſmal Outcries of miſerable Women tearing their Hair and beating their Breaſts after a ſad and deplorable manner. A *Dictator* upon this was created, which was *M. Junius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *T. Sempronius*, and Order was immediately given to keep all the Women from coming abroad into the Streets, the Senators themſelves going from Houſe to Houſe to comfort and appeaſe 'em what they cou'd. Great Care was likewiſe taken to ſet ſtrict Guards at the Gates, to keep all Perſons from abandoning the City; and to make all People ſee, *That there cou'd be no poſſible means of preſerving themſelves, but by bravely defending the Walls.* In a ſhort time *Varro* arriv'd at *Rome* with the weak and tatter'd Relicks of his Army; and tho' he had been the principal Cauſe of this Defeat, yet the *Romans* out of an extraordinary greatneſs of Mind, went out to meet him in Multitudes, and the Senate return'd him Thanks, *for that he had not deſpair'd of the Commonwealth.* Notwithſtanding the vaſt Loſſes ſuſtain'd by *Hannibal*, and the Revolt of a great part of *Italy* immediately after this laſt Defeat, the *Romans* wou'd never ſo much as mention Peace; *Whereas*, as *Livy* ſays, *no Nation under Heaven but wou'd have fainted, and have ſuffer'd themſelves to have been overwhelm'd and cruſh'd with the weight of ſo mighty a Diſaſter.*

Dic. lxii. *U. C.* 538.

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III. Thus far was *Hannibal* extraordinary ſucceſsful; and had he made the beſt uſe of this his laſt Victory by marching directly to *Rome*, he might in all probability have put an end to the War and *Roman* State at once; but this great Soldier, as *Maharbal* Captain of his Horſe told him, *knew perfectly how to gain a Victory, but not how to uſe and improve it*. For his careleſs manner of proceeding that Summer, gave the *Romans* an opportunity of recovering themſelves when they were almoſt reduc'd to a deſpairing Condition: And now they were inſpir'd with new Courage, and new Reſolutions of proſecuting the War without fainting; making all poſſible Preparations for another Campaign, arming ſeveral thouſands of Slaves, and filling up the Senate, which wanted 177 Perſons: This laſt was done by *Fabius Buteo* a *Dictator*, created for that purpoſe, without any *Maſter of the Horſe*, and that before the laſt *Dictator* was out of Office, who was then abroad. But that which prov'd moſt fatal to *Hannibal*, was, his Wintering in *Capua*, a moſt wealthy and luxurious City, which among many other Places, had ſurrender'd it ſelf to him ſince his laſt Victory. Here he utterly ſpoil'd an excellent and hardy Army, which now was ſo enfeebled and enervated by their immoderate Uſe of the Pleaſures and Effeminateneſs of that Place, that ever after his Men became impatient of Labour, and the ancient Military Diſcipline; ſo that *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to *Hannibal*'s Soldiers. And now *Hannibal*'s Fortune began to change; for in the next Campaign he was worſted in a Sally out of *Nola* by *Marcellus* the *Prætor*, and repuls'd at *Caſilinum*, after he had brought the Place to great Extremities; and not long after *Marcellus* gave him a conſiderable Repulſe nigh *Nola*, which gave the *Romans* mighty Hopes of farther Succeſſes.

Dic. lxiii. *U. C.* 539.

In *Spain* the *Scipio's* manag'd the War with great ſucceſs, overthrowing *Hanno*, and gaining much Ground,

Ground, and likewiſe defeating *Aſdrubal*, who b
juſt before had been order'd by the Senate of *Carth*
to go for *Italy* and join *Hannibal*; which Deſig
by this means was broke. In *Sicily* and *Sardini*
tho' ſeveral Attempts were made by the *Carthagin*
ans, and ſome Revolts hapned, yet Affairs ſucceed
ed proſperouſly, eſpecially in *Sardinia*, where a Ba
tel was fought, and 12000 *Carthaginians* kill'd, an
many taken Priſoners, among whom were *Aſdruba*
Hanno, and *Mago*, all Perſons of the higheſt Qua
lity. *Rome* now had the Misfortune of having En
mies on all ſides of her, and in all Parts of her Do
minions and Territories, ſo that the Vigour an
Diligence of her Inhabitants was certainly ver
admirable in ſending Recruits and Supplies int
Spain, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, thoſe diſtant Countries
with the ſame Care as againſt *Hannibal* himſel
But what is a greater Inſtance of the *Roman* Cou
rage and Magnanimity, is their proclaiming Wa
with *Philip* King of *Macedon* in *Greece*, not lon
after their dreadful Defeat at *Cannæ*, for his ma
king a League with *Hannibal*, and their venturin
to invade his Dominion, which they did with good
Succeſs. About this time *Claudius Sentho* was cre-
Dic. lxiv. ted *Dictator* for holding the *Comitia* in the *Conſul's*
U. C. Abſence for a new Election, and his *Maſter of the*
541. *Horſe* was *Fulvius Flaccus*.

The Affairs of *Sicily* were in a little time alter'd by
the Death of *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe*, and the Mur
der of his Grandſon *Hieronymus* not long after, which
caus'd great Factions in that City. The prevailing
Faction proving Enemies to *Rome*, *Marcellus* was ſent
thither, who beſieg'd the great City of *Syracuſe* by
Sea and Land, but cou'd not ſtorm it with all his
Power, being perpetually hinder'd by the great Skill
and Inventions of that excellent Mathematician *Ar-
chimedes*, who contriv'd ſuch Engines as wou'd cas
Stones of prodigious bulk upon the *Romans*, and vaſt
Beams upon their Ships, and diſmount all their Ba-
teries

Battering-Engines. He alſo ſet the *Roman* Ships upon one end, or overturn'd them, or hois'd 'em up into the Air, and after all the Men were fallen out, let 'em fall upon the Walls; by which means he became ſo formidable to the *Romans*, that *Marcellus* was forc'd to remove to a farther diſtance, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes*, *Briareus*. After ſome conſiderable Actions in *Sicily*, and after three Years Siege, *Marcellus* found means to ſurprize the City on a great Feſtival of theirs, by reaſon of an ill-guarded Tower, and ſo became Maſter of it. *Marcellus* cou'd not forbear his Tears at the deſtruction of ſuch a glorious and Magnificent City, which he endeavour'd, but cou'd not prevent; but above all, the Death of *Archimedes* was the greateſt Trouble to him; for he had given ſtrict Command to his Men to preſerve him. But this great Artiſt was at that time ſo extremely buſy about his Mathematical Speculations, that he took no notice of the Noiſe and Uproar in the City, and ſo was kill'd by a common Soldier before he ſuſpected any Danger. His Body was honourably bury'd by *Marcellus*'s Order, and vaſt Plunder was obtain'd by the Soldiers, beſides many rich Works and great Rareties ſent to *Rome*, the City being full of People, and 22 Miles in compaſs.

The Wars in *Italy* were manag'd the ſame time with various Succeſs, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betray'd to him, the Caſtle ſtill holding out; and the *Romans* inveſted *Capua*, ſtraitning it ſo much, that they were forc'd to ſend to *Hannibal* for Relief. He made no great haſte to relieve 'em, being very deſirous to take the Caſtle firſt; but then conſidering how great a diſgrace the loſs of ſuch a place as *Capua* wou'd be, he broke up the Siege of *Tarentum*, and directed his March thither. *Hannibal* attack'd the *Romans* in their Trenches; and tho' he was aſſiſted both by the Inhabitants and his own Garriſon, he was repell'd with conſiderable Loſs. Finding the Relief of the *U. C.* 542.

Place extream hazardous, he resolv'd to fall upon *Rome* it self, expecting that the very Name of such an Enterprize wou'd oblige 'em to raise the Siege; for which reason he march'd directly that way. His Designs being heard of at *Rome*, the Citizens were variously inclin'd as to their way of Security, some thinking all the Forces in *Italy* were to be sent for; but *Fabius* wou'd by no means hear of rising from before *Capua*: Therefore a middle way was taken, which was to send for *Fulvius* the *Proconsul* from the Siege, with 15000 Foot and 1000 Horse, for the defence of *Rome*; which was speedily effected, *Hannibal* being now encamp'd about eight Miles from the City.

Hannibal in a short time decamp'd, and advanc'd to the River *Arno*, three Miles from *Rome*, from whence with a Party of 2000 Horse, he went to take a View of the City. *Flaccus*, much offended that he shou'd take such Liberty without Opposition, sent out a considerable Body of Horse, which falling upon him, forc'd him to retreat. The next Day, and the Day following, *Hannibal* on one side, and *Flaccus* with the Consuls on the other, drew out all their Forces for a general Battel; but on both those Days there fell such great Storms of Hail and Rain, that the Armies cou'd not join; but after they had retir'd to their Camps, the Weather prov'd fair and calm. This struck the *Carthaginians* with a religious Awe, and made *Hannibal* to say, *That one while his Mind, another time his Fortune, wou'd not suffer him to become Master of that mighty City.* Whereupon he decamp'd, and march'd to the River *Turia*, from thence to the Lake of *Feronia*, where he plunder'd a Temple of that Goddess, proceeding in this outrageous manner through the Countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*; which Cruelty lost him much Credit, and did him as much Injury. *Flaccus* return'd to the Siege of *Capua*, which soon after was surrender'd, the Heads of the Revolt being

being put to death, and the common ſort ſold. This City being ſituated in ſo good a Soil, was reſerv'd for the uſe of all ſorts of Plowmen, Labourers and Artificers, without any ſhew of Government of its own, as it had formerly. This hapned in the 7th Year of this War, and 543d of the City.

In *Spain*, the War had been carry'd on all this time with great Vigour, the *Romans* being generally Conquerors, killing in one Battel 37000 Men; but in this laſt Year, *Claudius Nero* the Governour of *Spain* was much impos'd upon by the Treachery of *Aſdrubal*, and another Governour was order'd to ſucceed him, both the *Scipio*'s having been ſlain not long before in *Spain*. A *Comitia* was held for the creating a *Proconſul* for *Spain*, but none appear'd to ſtand for that Office, well perceiving the Hazards and Difficulties of ſuch a War, which caus'd a great Concern and Sadneſs among the People. Whereupon young *Scipio*, a noble Youth, under 24 Years of Age, bravely ſtood up, and profeſs'd himſelf *Candidate*, having the Year before been made *Ædile*, tho' under Age, by the great favour and confidence of the People. This *Scipio* was Son to the Conſul ſlain in *Spain*, a Perſon of rare and wonderful Abilities for his Age, of extraordinary Courage and Valour, and of as eminent Prudence and Virtue, which excellent Accompliſhments made him joyfully accepted of by the Votes of all; but after he was choſen, they began to have ſome concern upon the account of his Youth; which he apprehending, call'd 'em together, and with ſuch a noble Spirit and great Reſolution, promis'd 'em ſucceſs, that they departed abundantly ſatisfy'd with their Choice.

The following Year after *Scipio*'s Voyage to *Spain*, *Valerius Lævinus*, who had done good Service againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, was made *Conſul* a ſecond time, and ſent into *Sicily*; where taking the City *Agrigentum*, he ſoon reduc'd the whole Iſland, which was the

first time the *Romans* became Masters of all *Sicily*; and this fell out in the 8th Year of this War, and 544th of the City. In the time of *Levinus*'s Con-
Dic. lxv. *sulship*, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comi-*
U. C. *tia* for a new Election, both he and his Collegue
544. *Marcellus* being abroad: This was *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his *Master of the Horse* was *Licinius Crassus*. In this Election *Fabius Maximus* was chosen Consul a fifth time, in which Year *Tarentum* was betray'd into his Hands, the Success of this Campaign proving very doubtful and various; and in this same Year was a *Lustration*, where were found but 137108 Free Citizens; by which Account it appears, what great Losses the *Romans* had sustain'd by these dreadful Wars. *Marcellus* for this Year sometimes won and sometimes lost with *Hannibal*; and the following was made *Consul* a fifth time, when, going against *Hannibal*, he was slain in an Ambuscade; a valiant Soldier, who was call'd the *Sword*, as *Fabius* was the *Buckler* of *Rome*. His Collegue *Crispinus* also receiv'd a Wound, which in a little time
Dic. lxvi. kill'd him, having first nominated a *Dictator* for
U. C. holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was
546. *Manlius Torquatus*, his *Master of the Horse* being C. *Servilius*.

The following Year *Asdrubal* was order'd to leave *Spain* and go for *Italy* to the assistance of his Brother *Hannibal*. Whereupon *Livius* the Consul was order'd to meet and oppose him, whilst his Collegue *Nero* observ'd the Motions of *Hannibal*: But *Nero* having met with some Success against *Hannibal*, made a choice Detachment of 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and with great Secrecy and as great Expedition, march'd towards his Collegue. Having join'd him, they surrounded *Asdrubal*, who by the Treachery of his Guides was led into a dangerous place, and cut him and his whole Army in pieces. *Nero* immediately return'd to his Camp, and before *Hannibal* knew of his departure, cast his Brother's Head in his Camp; by

by which, to his great Grief, he knew of his Defeat. At the finiſhing of this *Conſulſhip*, a *Dictator* was created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election, the Conſuls being both in the Field, which was *Livius Salinator*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Cæcilius Metellus*. The Year after this, *Scipio*, after he obtaining many great Victories, and the performing many noble Exploits in *Spain*, wholly reduc'd that Country to the Obedience of *Rome*; having taken or driven out all the *Carthaginian* Commanders, and gain'd as much Reputation by his mild, ſweet, and generous Temper, as he did by his courageous and valiant Acts. This happen'd Five Years after his undertaking this Charge, and Twelve after the beginning of this War. *Dic.* lxvii. *U. C.* 547.

IV. The *Romans* now found themſelves in a much better Condition than they were at the beginning of theſe Wars, eſpecially by the happy reduction of two ſuch conſiderable Provinces as *Spain* and *Sicily*, which had been great Diverſions to 'em; but ſtill *Hannibal*, in the Bowels of *Italy*, was a ſevere Curb, and a grievous Burden to 'em; upon which, *Scipio*, at his Return, being made *Conſul* at 29 Years of Age, greatly deſir'd to be ſent into *Africk*, as the moſt effectual means to finiſh the War; declaring to the Senate, *That he doubted not but to manage Affairs ſo, as that the* Carthaginians *ſhould be forc'd to recall* Hannibal *out of* Italy *for the Defence of his own Country*. *Fabius* moſt earneſtly, and with ſome Heat oppos'd this, and thereupon a conſiderable Difference aroſe; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and Leave given him to paſs over into *Africk*, if he ſaw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All the firſt Year he ſpent in *Sicily*, in providing Neceſſaries for his Expedition; at the end of which, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of Conſuls, namely, *Cæcilius Metellus*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Veturius Philo*: The *U. C.* 548. *Dic.* lxviii. *U. C.* 549.

next *Luſtrum* being ſoon after, 215000 Free Citizens were ceſs'd, which was 77892 more than at the laſt; a happy encreaſe for Five Years time. This ſame Year, which was the 14th of this War, *Scipio* arriv'd at *Africk* with a brave Fleet, where *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*, who had joyn'd with him in *Spain*, came in to his Aſſiſtance.

Scipio was not long in *Africk* without Employment; for in a ſhort time *Hanno* oppos'd him, and was ſlain himſelf with 3000 of his Men; which ſo encourag'd *Scipio*, that he immediately inveſted *Utica*: but *Syphax* King of *Numidia*, who had diſpoſſeſs'd *Maſaniſſa* of his Kingdom, marching with the *Carthaginians* to relieve the Place, *Scipio* broke up the Siege, and departed to his Winter-Quarters. But in the Winter he again inveſted *Utica*; and underſtanding that the Enemy was encamp'd not far off, he ſent his ableſt Soldiers in the Habits of Slaves, with his Commiſſioners, to view their Camp. This done, he ſuddenly ſet Fire to their Coverings of Matts, Reeds, dry Boughs, and the like; which they not ſuſpecting, but thinking it came by Accident, were cut in pieces in the midſt of the Hurry and Confuſion, to the number of 40000 Men, 6000 being taken Priſoners. Not long after he gave them another great Overthrow, which ſo terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, that they were oblig'd to recall their great Champion *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, who himſelf likewiſe had been in a declining condition for a conſiderable time. An Ambaſſage was immediately diſpatch'd to *Rome*, with a Deſign to obtain a Ceſſation of Arms till *Hannibal* cou'd ſafely retire from *Italy*: but their Aim being ſufficiently underſtood, their Meſſage was ſlighted, and came to no effect.

During theſe Endeavours, *Syphax* finding his Kingdom would probably return to *Maſaniſſa*, the true Inheritor, had gather'd together a numerous Army of unexperienc'd Strangers, and with them march'd againſt *Scipio*, but was ſoon defeated, and himſelf

himſelf taken Priſoner. *Maſaniſſa*, the better to regain his Kingdom, march'd with all ſpeed to *Cirta* the chief City, and by ſhewing them the King in Bonds, procur'd the Gates to be open'd, every one ſtriving to gain the Favour of him, who, as they perceiv'd, wou'd be their King. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophonisba*, *Syphax*'s Wife, a Woman of incomparable Beauty, who very earneſtly and humbly beſought him, *That ſhe might not be deliver'd up into the hands of the* Romans, her powerful Charms ſo recommended her Suit, that young *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and the more effectually to perform his Promiſe, marry'd her himſelf that Day. This Action was much diſapprov'd of by *Scipio* at his Arrival ſoon after, letting him to underſtand, *That the* Romans *had a Title to her Head, as being their Captive, one of their greateſt Enemies, and the principal Cauſe of all* Syphax's *Treachery.* Upon this therefore, *Maſaniſſa*, in deſperate Paſſion, ſent her a Bowl of Poyſon; at the receiving of which ſhe only ſaid, *That if her Husband had no better Token to ſend to his new Wife, ſhe muſt accept of that*; adding, *That her Death had been more honourable, if her Marriage had been farther from it*; and ſo boldly drank it off. *Scipio*, the better to comfort the Melancholy Prince, had him immediately proclaim'd King of *Numidia*, with the greateſt Pomp and Solemnity that cou'd be expected, having now ſettl'd him in his Throne without any farther Oppoſition.

V. *Hannibal* had now made his greateſt and utmoſt Efforts in *Italy*, and had perform'd more than any other Commander, when he was recall'd by his Superiors; and with great Concern and Reluctancy was forc'd to quit that Country, after he had ſpent fifteen Years in it with various Fortune. He complain'd much of his Senate, and of Himſelf; of his Senate, becauſe they had ſo badly ſupply'd him with Money and other Neceſſaries, when he

had been so long in an Enemies Country; of Himself, for giving the *Romans* time to recover themselves, after he had so often overthrown 'em. It is said likewise, that before he embark'd, he built an Arch nigh the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where, in *Punick* and *Greek* Letters, he wrote the Sum of his great Exploits. Then putting to Sea in a melancholy Temper, having lost both his Brothers, *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, and a great many of his best Men, he landed in a few Days at *Leptis*; from whence he march'd to *Adrumetum*, and next to *Zama*, five Days Journey from *Carthage*. A general Satisfaction was in *Rome* for his Departure; for never was a General more dreaded by 'em: And much about that time a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Consuls*, *Sulpicius Galba* being the Person, and *Servilius Geminus* his *Master of the Horse*.

Dic. lxix. *U. C.* 551.

Hannibal now lying encamp'd near *Zama*, and *Scipio* not far from him, the former beginning to consider the declining State of his Country, desir'd a Meeting with *Scipio* to treat of a Peace, which was granted. In a large Plain between the two Armies, the two greatest Generals in the World came to an Enterview; but receiving mutually no Satisfaction, especially for that *Scipio* had upbraided the *Carthaginians* with a late Breach of Truce, and Violation of Ambassadors, they return'd to decide the Controversy by the Sword. Never was a more memorable Battel fought, whether we regard the Generals, the Armies, the two States that contended, or the Importance of the Victory. Both the Generals shew'd admirable Skill in placing their Men, and chusing their Ground, as well as extraordinary Courage in charging and falling on, letting their Soldiers to understand, *That this Battel must shew whether* Rome *or* Carthage *shou'd give Laws to the World.* *Hannibal*, tho' he behav'd himself most gallantly, and with all the true Management of such an expert Commander,

ler, was at laſt overcome by *Scipio*, who ſlew 20000, and took as many Priſoners. Whereupon *Hannibal* perſuaded his Country-men to beg Peace, and Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatch'd to *Rome* for that purpoſe: A little before whoſe arrival, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for Election of *Conſuls*; and this was C. *Servilius*, his *Maſter of the Horſe* being *Ailius Petus*. *Dic.* lxx. *U. C.* 552.

The Power of concluding Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio* and Ten others, and was at laſt agreed to upon theſe Articles: Firſt, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould enjoy all their Territories in* Africk; *but that the* Romans *ſhould hold* Spain, *with all the Iſlands in the* Mediterranean: Secondly, *That all Rebels and Deſerters ſhould be deliver'd up to the* Romans: Thirdly, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhou'd deliver up all the beak'd Ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tam'd Elephants, and tame no more:* Fourthly, *That it ſhould be unlawful for 'em to make War in* Africk, *or elſewhere, without Leave from* Rome: Fifthly, *That they ſhould reſtore all to* Maſaniſſa, *and enter into Alliance with him:* Sixthly, *That they ſhould give Money and Corn to the* Roman *Troops, till the return of the Ambaſſadors:* And, Seventhly, *That they ſhould pay* 10000 *Talents of Silver in* 50 *Years time, and give* 100 *Hoſtages for the performance of all.* Thus ended the Second *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 17th Year of it, to the great Satisfaction of *Rome*, and the greater Renown of *Scipio*, who, beſides a moſt ſplendid Triumph, obtain'd the honourable Surname of *Africanus*. It was ſeven Years ſhorter, tho' far more Bloody and Dangerous than the firſt *Punick* War, and ended in the 553d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3804, in the 4th Year of the 144th *Olympiad*, 308 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular* State, 189 ſince the Burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 129 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 199 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

From the End of the Second Punick *War, to the End of the Third, and the Deſtruction of* Carthage; *when* Rome *got free from all her Rival States.*

Containing the Space of 55 Years.

U. C. 553. I. THeſe Wars, though they had been very dangerous, almoſt to the Ruin of the *Roman* State, ended much to the Advantage of it, both as to its Honour and Dominion, as well as its Experience and Knowledge. The *Romans* began more and more to know the Uſe of Riches, and Arts and Learning daily encreas'd as they became more acquainted with the *Græcians*. For much about this time flouriſh'd *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cæcilius*, all Dramatick Poets, the *Romans* being much delighted with ſuch Spectacles, as well as thoſe more cruel ones of Gladiators, Fighting with wild Beaſts, *&c.* The finiſhing of theſe late Wars much eas'd the *Romans*, but ſtill they were employ'd abroad; for immediately after began, or rather went on, the *Macedonian* Wars againſt King *Philip*, the firſt occaſion being given ſoon after the great Battel of *Cannæ*, upon his entrance into an Alliance with *Hannibal*, as was ſaid before. But now the *Romans* having a good Opportunity, and not without Provocation, as well by his Breach of Faith with the *Ætolians* and other *Roman* Allies in thoſe Parts, as by his Supplies long before ſent to *Hannibal*, and at the earneſt Requeſt of the *Athenians*, as well as the Complaints of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, proclaim'd War againſt him a-new.

This *Philip* King of *Macedon* was one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, being the tenth King after him, and a powerful Prince in *Greece*. Againſt him *Sulpicius*

Galba

Galba the Consul was sent, who by himself and his Lieutenant, put him to the worst divers times, and had almost taken him Prisoner. By the Assistance of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, the Consul rais'd the Siege of *Athens*; whereupon the *Ætolians*, before backward enough, by reason of their Magistrates, and the *Athenians* now newly encourag'd, invaded *Philip*'s Dominions, but being too slothful and careless, were easily repuls'd by him. This same Year obtain'd *Furius* the *Prætor* a great Victory over the *Gauls*, who had lately revolted and invested *Cremona*, killing 30000 Men, and with them *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian* Captain. For this Action, after much Dispute in the Senate, he triumph'd, tho' against the Custom, and without Precedent; for none ever obtain'd this Honour, who had gotten a Victory with another's Army, as he had done with *Aurelius Cotta*'s the Consul, in his Absence, who therefore took the Matter very heinously. The Year following, *Bebius* the *Prætor* entring unadvisedly into the Territories of the *Insubrian Gauls*, was surrounded, and lost above 6600 of his Men; in this Year there was but small Action in *Macedonia*.

In the third Year of the *Macedonian* War, *Quintus Flaminius* the Consul was sent thither, who using great Expedition and Diligence, beat *Philip* out of the Streights, where he had been very advantageously posted; and by Sea his Brother *Lucius*, with *Attalus*, regain'd several Confederate Towns, and invested *Corinth* it self, but with no Success. The latter end of this Year, by reason of the great Business of the Commonwealth, the *Prætors* in *Rome* were encreas'd from Four to Six; and now the time coming for the Election of Consuls, and it being usual for them to take the Provinces from their Predecessors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, *That this Custom hinder'd the Progress of the Wars*, and so procur'd *Quinctius*'s Government and Place to be continu'd to him, who being just upon taking the Castle of *Opus*, Mes-

Prætors encreas'd. U. C. 556.

sengers

ſengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met, as they formerly had done, at the Streights, the Ambaſſadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* being preſent, but all came to no Effect. *Philip* ſoon after delivering up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who us'd the Inhabitants with great Cruelty and intolerable Exactions. But *Quintius*, managing his Affairs with good Succeſs, at laſt follow'd *Philip* into *Theſſaly*, and gave him a great Overthrow at *Cynocephalæ*, killing 8000, and taking 5000 Priſoners; ſo that he was forc'd to beg Peace, which was granted upon Terms moderate enough: One of the Articles was, *That he ſhould pay* 1000 *Talents, half at preſent, and the other half in the ſpace of ten Years.*

About this ſame time, two great Victories were obtain'd over the *Gauls*; and the Slaves in *Hetruria* breaking into a dangerous Rebellion, were quell'd and chaſtis'd by *Attilius* the *Prætor*. And now the *Romans*, out of a Principle of Generoſity, reſolv'd to reſtore Liberty to the Cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this War, and for that reaſon, Ten Men of the chiefeſt Quality were ſent over thither, *Flaminius* being the principal. Theſe Commiſſioners went to the great Solemnity of the *Iſthmian* Games, where was a General Meeting of all *Greece* to behold thoſe Shows; and there, in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, they publickly proclaim'd Liberty to all the Cities and People of *Greece*. This was the moſt ſurprizing and moſt joyful thing in the World to theſe People, who ſcarce ſo much as imagin'd, much leſs expected the Favour. Many Speeches were made in Praiſe of the *Roman* Greatneſs and Generoſity, particularly, *That at laſt, there was a People in the World, born for the Safety of all others, that croſs'd Seas and made Wars at their own Coſt and Peril, to relieve the Oppreſs'd, to eſtabliſh Laws, and caus'd them to be obſerv'd, and to maintain the Publick Security throughout the whole Earth.* And this was the end of the firſt

Macedonian

Macedonian War, which happen'd five Years after it was laſt proclaim'd, and twenty after it firſt began.

II. The Year following after the War, ſome Diſturbances were raiſed in the City concerning the *Oppian* Law; a Law preferr'd by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, ſoon after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding Women to wear Gold or Purple, and ſome other Ornaments. This Law the preſent Tribunes endeavouring to abrogate, Affairs being chang'd, and the Occaſion remov'd, were violently oppos'd by *Portius Cato* the Conſul, a famous Moraliſt, who publickly and ſeverely inveigh'd againſt the Females; but by reaſon of the Tribunes anſwering him out of his own Book, but chiefly by means of the Womens tumultuous filling the Streets and the Aſſemblies with their importunate Cries, it was at laſt annull'd. *Cato* then betook himſelf to *Spain* his own Province, where uſing Severity to himſelf as well as his Soldiers, he reſtor'd the *Roman* Diſcipline in thoſe Parts, and reduc'd many of the *Spaniſh* Nations, who had lately revolted. The *Romans* had ſtill Wars with the *Gauls*, who were join'd with their Neighbours the *Ligurians*; but they were not much burdenſome to the State, nor ſuch as hinder'd the progreſs of Learning in the City. For about this time *Plautus* had many Plays acted at *Rome* with great Applauſe; and he it was that brought *Comedy* to its Perfection in this City, being a Perſon of a great Genius, and a compleat Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, which, tho' it was not arriv'd to its utmoſt Purity, had even then a Maſculine Strength and Energy, which was very excellent. The *Romans* were not without ſome Wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis*, lately mention'd, ſtill oppos'd 'em, but was forc'd to ſubmit in no long time: And about this time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, by his Incroachments upon the *Roman* Allies, gave an Occaſion to the *Romans* to fall out with him; and this he did partly thro' his own Ambition and Hatred to *Rome*, U. C. 559.

Rome, and partly by the Perſwaſions of *Hannib* who had been lately forc'd thither by the Ingratitu of his own Country-men. Theſe Matters occaſion Ambaſſies on both ſides, but to no great effect, t at laſt *Antiochus* proceeded ſo far into *Greece* it fe the *Ætolians* treacherouſly joining with them, th the *Romans* after ſuitable Preparations, proclaim War againſt him, which was five Years after th finiſhing the *Macedonian* War.

U. C. 536. *Antiochus* as well as *Philip*, was one of *Alexand* Succeſſors, tho' of another Kingdom, and ſurnam *Magnus*, being a very potent Prince, and Maſter great Dominions; therefore the greater Preparation were made againſt him, and *Acilius* the Conſul wa ſent into *Greece* to manage the War. *Acilius* eaſil recovered thoſe Places which *Antiochus* had poſſeſ himſelf of in *Theſſaly*; then following that King t the *Streights* of *Thermopylæ*, whither he had retir'd, h forc'd him out of his advantageous Poſt, and gav him ſuch an Overthrow, that he immediately aban don'd all *Greece*, the *Ætolians* being left to the mercy of the Conquerors. While *Acilius* perform'd thel Acts in *Greece*, his Collegue *Naſica* got a notable Vi ctory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which entirel broke all their Power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Lælius Nepo* being Conſuls for the following Year, came accordin to cuſtom to divide the Provinces by Lot. Both were extreamly deſirous to have *Greece*, and *Lælius* being in great Favour, offer'd to leave it to the determi nation of the Senate, which *Scipio* was perſuaded to aſſent to by his Brother *Africanus*. The Matter was wholly new, and the Senate expected many Speeches and Arguments on both ſides, when *Africanus* ſtand ing up, told the Fathers, *That if they wou'd decre* Greece *for his Brother's Province, he himſelf wou'd be hi* Legatus *or Lieutenant*; at which there needed no o ther Argument; for it was immediately voted with univerſal Conſent and Applauſe, and Power given to *Scipio* to paſs into *Aſia*, if he ſaw it convenient.

In

the mean time *Antiochus* lay at *Ephesus* in *Asia*, cure, as he imagin'd, of the *Romans*; but *Hanni-l*, who had advis'd him to invade *Italy*, told him, *e rather admir'd they were not there already, than ubted of their coming*, and procur'd the Forces to be nt for out of the further Provinces, and all the ips that were ready, to secure the Passage of the *elleſpont*, where the Consul most probably wou'd ss. *Pergamus*, the chief City of *Eumenes*, the riend of the *Romans*, was likewise invested, but e Siege was soon rais'd, and *Antiochus* sent to *Æ-ilius* the *Roman* Admiral, now on those Coasts, a-out a Peace, but he disown'd all Power of conclud-g it without the Consul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* efeated his Admiral at Sea, which was *Hannibal*, a an out of his proper Element; and after that in a ight with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, he tirely lost the Command at Sea. *Antiochus* affright-l at this ill Fortune, imprudently abandon'd *Lysi-achia*, which might have kept the Consul in Acti-n a Year longer; and, adding one piece of Indis-etion to another, suffer'd the *Scipio's* to pass the *elleſpont* into *Asia* without Opposition. This was e first time that the *Romans* got Footing in *Asia*, hich so startled *Antiochus*, that he offer'd to quit l Places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were Friends *Rome*, to pay half the Charges the *Romans* Were in this War; and rather than not obtain Peace, part with a Portion of his own Kingdom.

The Ambassadors who carry'd these Proposals, 'd their utmost Endeavours to procure the Favour *Africanus*, offering him the restitution of his Son ho had been taken Prisoner, and many other great d honourable Advantages, if it cou'd be effected. ut *Africanus* wou'd promise nothing more than on-private Offices of Kindness, modestly letting 'em know, *That since* Antiochus *was now in such a de-ining state, Peace was not probably to be purchas'd at easy a Rate as formerly.* Whereupon *Antiochus* made

made what Proviſion he cou'd for a Battel; a
Africanus falling ſick ſoon after, to comfort him, a
to gain his Favour, he ſent him his Son witho
Ranſom; upon which the other, in way of Requ
tal, advis'd him not to engage with his Brother t
he cou'd return to the Camp. *Antiochus* therefor
having receiv'd this Meſſage, declin'd fighting wh
he cou'd, till *Scipio* the Conſul preſs'd ſo hard upo
him nigh *Magneſia*, that he was forc'd to draw o
his Men to the number of 70000 Foot and 1200
Horſe. *Scipio* oppos'd him with a much leſs Army
but in a few hours time intirely defeated him, wher
his own Chariots arm'd with Scythes, being drive
back upon his own Men, contributed much to h
Overthrow. *Antiochus* now was glad to procur
Peace of the *Romans* upon their own Terms, an
Ambaſſadors were diſpatch'd accordingly, when
Africanus told 'em, *That the* Romans *were* neve
wont to inſult over their conquer'd Enemies, and there
fore nothing ſhou'd be requir'd of him more than formerly
The Terms were, *To pay* 15000 *Talents of* Eubœa f
the Expences of the War, to quit all their Poſſeſſions in Eu
rope, *and likewiſe all* Aſia *on this ſide Mount* Taurus
to deliver up Hannibal *and other Incendiaries*, *and t*
give 20 *Hoſtages for ſecuring the Peace.* Thus ended
the War with *Antiochus* the Great, much to the Ad
vantage of *Rome*, within two Years time or leſs
twelve Years after the ſecond *Punick* War, *Lucius Sci*
pio having gain'd the Surname of *Aſiaticus*, as h
Brother had of *Africanus*.

U. C. 565. III. The *Romans* had now but little Employment
abroad, beſides chaſtiſing the *Ætolians* in *Greec*
which was ſoon effected by *Manlius Scipio*'s Colleague
and by the ſame Conſul an Expedition was undert
ken againſt the *Gallo-Græcians* or *Gallatians* in *Aſi*
with good Succeſs; but Luxury and Idleneſs was firſt
brought into *Rome* by his Army out of *Aſia*. Th
ſame Year the *Cenſus* being perform'd, 258328 Fre
Citizen

Citizens were ceſs'd. In the third Year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was maliciouſly accus'd of defrauding the Treaſury of the Booty taken in the War, and of too nigh a Correſpondence with *Antiochus*, and of Matters of the like nature. Some write that his Accuſers were incited to it by *Cato*, who hated him for his being frequently ſaluted King in *Spain* by the Inhabitants there, and occaſion'd him to have a Day ſet him by the *Tribunes* to anſwer it before the People. The Day of Hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their Places in the *Roſtra*, this great Man enter'd the Aſſembly, with a mighty Train of Friends and Clients, all the People having their Eyes fix'd upon him with Admiration. Silence being made, he with an undaunted Bravery put on his Triumphal Crown, and with the Voice of a Conqueror cry'd, *This very Day*, O Romans! *I did overcome the fierce* Hannibal, *and vanquiſh'd the powerful* Carthaginians, *therefore let us lay aſide private Conteſts, and go as many as can to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for giving me the Will and Power of doing ſuch eminent Services for my Country.* Whereupon going up to the *Capitol*, the whole Aſſembly follow'd him, as alſo to all the Temples in the City, inſomuch that the very *Viators* and *Clerks* left the *Tribunes* alone, who from Accuſers were turn'd Admirers.

Shortly after, the *Tribunes* accus'd him in the Senate-Houſe, and deſir'd he might be brought to his Anſwer. *Scipio* boldly riſing up, produc'd his Books of Accounts, and tore 'em in pieces before 'em all, *diſdaining to give an Account for ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of thoſe vaſt Sums he himſelf had brought into the Treaſury.* The next Day of Appearance he abſented himſelf, and his Brother declaring his Indiſpoſition, he was excus'd, and another Day appointed; before which time, he withdrew himſelf to *Linternum*, a Sea-Town of *Campania*, and there liv'd a retir'd Life. In his Abſence the *Tribunes* were ve-

ry violent againſt him; yet through the Interpoſition of *Gracchus*, one of 'em, he was not condemn'd. His Brother *Aſiaticus* was ſhortly after call'd to an Account about Matters of the ſame nature, but by *Gracchus*'s means likewiſe eſcap'd Publick Puniſhment. The Year following, many ſcandalous Abuſes of the Feaſts of *Bacchus* were ſtrictly enquir'd into and reform'd. Three Years after which, the Great *Africanus* dy'd, who according to *Val. Maximus*, order'd, *Ingrata Patria ne oſſa quidem mea habes*, to be engraven on his Tomb, *My ungrateful Country ſhall have none of my Remains.* This ſame Year was remarkable for the Death of two other Famous Men, *Philopœmen*, Captain of the *Achæans* in *Greece*, and *Hannibal*; the latter of which had fled to ſeveral Places to eſcape falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and at laſt to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, who, out of Fear, was about delivering him up, when *Hannibal* took Poyſon, which 'tis ſaid, he carry'd about him in his Ring, firſt *invoking the Gods of Hoſpitality as Witneſſes of the violated Faith of King* Pruſias, *and upbraiding the preſent* Romans *with Degenerating from their Anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the Murder of their mortal Enemy* Pyrrhus, *whereas theſe had baſely ſent to* Pruſias *to murder his Gueſt and Friend.*

U. C. 571.

The *Romans* were for about 12 Years after this chiefly employ'd in Wars with their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Iſtrians*, with the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, and likewiſe with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, all which they reduc'd to Subjection. In which ſpace of time the Works of *Numa Pompilius* the Second King of *Rome*, after they had been buried in a Stone Cheſt 535 Years, were taken up and burnt by Order of Senate; and in a *Luſtration* not long after, 273244 Free Citizens were ceſs'd. About two Years after this, *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, the Son of *Philip*, invited by his Father's Preparations before his Death, and pleas'd with his own Strength and imaginary

U. C. 583.

maginary Succeſſes, renounc'd the League made with he *Romans*, and ſo began the ſecond *Macedonian* War, 25 Years after the finiſhing of the firſt, and 18 after that with *Antiochus*. Upon this, *Quintus Marcius* and others were ſent into *Greece* to ſecure nd eſtabliſh the Confederates in their Fidelity; which made *Perſeus* begin to reflect upon what he had done; and underſtanding the Motions and Preparations of the *Romans*, he apply'd himſelf to *Marcius* about a Treaty for Peace, relying upon the ancient Friendſhip between their two Families. The Ambaſſadors were well ſatisfy'd with this Opportunity, and to divert him from Action, granted him Truce till he might ſend to *Rome*; for without this, he might have began the War much to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*, who had neither Army nor Commander yet arriv'd in *Greece*.

The Senate deny'd him Peace, and *Attilius* the Conſul was ſent to ſeize upon *Lariſſa* the chief City of *Theſſaly*: Whereupon *Perſeus* drew all his Forces together, having gather'd together a greater Army than any of his Predeceſſors were Maſters of ſince *Alexander the Great*. He took in ſome Towns upon his Frontiers, and *Licinius* the Conſul led ſuch a raw undiſciplin'd Army into *Macedonia*, and through ſuch difficult and almoſt impaſſable Places, that had *Perſeus* made his Advantage of this Opportunity, he might eaſily have deſtroy'd it. After this, he ſent to *Licinius*, offering *to obſerve the Articles to which his Father* Philip *had ſubmitted, by paying the Tribute, and leaving the Cities to their Liberty*; but could not obtain Peace to be granted him upon theſe Terms. Soon after, *Thebes* and *Aleartus* were taken by *Lucretius* the *Prætor*; and the Conſul having had the Advantage in another Skirmiſh, poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſome Towns, and took up his Winter-Quarters; mean while *Appius Claudius* loſt many Men in *Illyricum*. The Year following *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, who was to manage this War, perform'd but little of moment beſides

reducing his Men to that ancient Diſcipline which his Predeceſſor had too much neglected. *Marcius Philippus* ſucceeding him, at his firſt entrance into his Province might have eaſily been defeated, had he met with a prudent and expert Enemy, the Way being ſo difficult and dangerous to paſs, that his Soldiers could ſcarce hold their Weapons in their Hands, by reaſon of their Wearineſs. And after he had enter'd the Plains, he might as eaſily have been block'd up and ſtarv'd, had not *Perſeus*, ſtruck with a groundleſs Fear, retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the Paſſes open to him. Yet *Marcius* acted nothing of conſequence, leaving all to be perform'd by his Succeſſor *Æmilius Paulus*, who had been Conſul 17 Years before, and was a very experienc'd Commander.

Æmilius very skilfully managed the War, and caus'd the Eclipſe of the Moon to be foretold to his Soldiers, leſt they ſhould be diſcouraged by it, which much terrify'd the Enemy that knew nothing of the Natural Cauſe. He kept his Men from Fighting when they were fatigu'd, tho' the Officers were deſirous to engage: But the Armies lying encamp'd on each ſide the River *Enipeus*, a Beaſt, by chance, paſſing over from the *Roman* ſide, was ſeiz'd on, and being reſcu'd, by degrees drew both Armies to an Engagement, wherein *Perſeus* loſt the Day, and with it his Kingdom. He flying into the Iſle of *Crete*, when all abandon'd him, ſurrender'd himſelf into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* ſeverely chaſtiz'd the *Epirots*, who had join'd with *Perſeus*, Plundering and Demoliſhing about 70 of their Towns, whereby ſuch a great Booty was gain'd, that each Footman had 200 *Denarii* (above 7 *Engliſh* Pounds) and every Horſeman twice as much. But the Soldiers having gain'd little or no Plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treaſure, deny'd their General a Triumph, which he obtain'd notwithſtanding, and that a moſt Splendid one too, ſuch as *Rome* ſcarce ever ſaw before; *Perſeus* himſelf and his two Sons being

eing led in great State and Magnificence before his riumphal Chariot. And the ſame Year *Cn. Octa-ius*, the *Prætor* at Sea, triumph'd, and *L. Anicius*, efore whoſe Chariot was led *Gentius* King of the *lyrians*, who being a Confederate of *Perſeus*, was blig'd to yield himſelf Priſoner. Thus ended the econd *Macedonian* War in three Years time, and ith it the *Macedonian* Kingdom, after it had con-inu'd 156 Years after *Alexander*'s Death, and ſeve-al Hundreds of Years before; *Æmilius*, by this Conqueſt bringing 200 Millions of Seſterces into he Treaſury, according to *Paterculus*.

IV. Now the *Roman* Grandeur began to diſplay it elf thro' all Countries and Nations; many Kings nd Potentates became humble Suppliants to the Se-nate; being all at their diſpoſal; and Learning now ouriſh'd much more than ever, being much forward-ed by the *Romans* Converſe and Familiarity with the *Græcians*, whom they had lately conquer'd; and much encourag'd by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, the two noble Pa-trons of Eloquence, Poetry, and all Arts, and the worthieſt and moſt accompliſh'd Gentlemen in *Rome*. The former of theſe was *Æmilius* the Conſul's Son, adopted by the Son of *Africanus*; and the other was Son to *Lælius*, who formerly did great Service in *Africa*. In this time flouriſh'd the famous Comedian *Terence*, who writ with extraordinary correctneſs and accuracy, and help'd to bring the *Roman* Tongue to a great perfection, as to Purity and Propriety, his firſt Play being acted one Year after the Conqueſt of *Macedonia* and *Perſeus*. And not only the Learning, Riches, and Dominions of *Rome* were increas'd, but likewiſe the Inhabitants, for in a Luſtration about this time, there were 312081 Free Citizens ceſs'd. For 17 or 18 Years the *Romans* were employ'd in more inferiour Wars, ſuch as thoſe with the *Liguri-ans*, *Corſicans*, *Dalmatians*, and *Spaniards*, and like-wiſe the *Macedonians*, being all in the nature of Re-

U. C. 586.

U. C. 604. volts, which tho' they often created much Trouble to the State, yet they were not so memorable as to deserve a particular Account in this Volume.

These Wars were scarcely finish'd, when the *Romans* found a Pretence to begin the third *Carthaginian* War, which was their being in Arms against *Masanissa*, a *Roman* Ally, tho' they had sufficient Justice on their side. The *Roman* Ambassadors who were sent to *Carthage*, finding the City very rich and flourishing from their fifty Years Peace, at their return insisted much on the Danger which threatned *Rome* from that State; especially *Cato*, who never came into the Senate, but after his speaking to any Publick Business, concluded with *Delenda est Carthago*; Carthage *is to be destroy'd.* He was often oppos'd by *Scipio Nasica*, who urg'd, *That upon the Removal of so powerful a Rival, Security wou'd cause the Ruin and Dissolution of the* Roman *Common-wealth*, as it afterwards prov'd: But *Cato*'s Reasons, drawn from the present Danger, so over-rul'd *Scipio*'s Forecast, that the Senate now having a Pretence of an open Breach of Articles, order'd War to be proclaim'd against the *Carthaginians*, and both the Consuls were sent, with a full resolution utterly to destroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* affrighted at the *Romans* Preparations, immediately condemn'd those who had broken the League, and most humbly offer'd any reasonable Satisfaction. Answer was return'd to 'em, *That they shou'd enjoy all as formerly, provided they sent* 300 *Hostages of the chief of the City within* 30 *Days to* Sicily, *and did what the Consuls shou'd further command 'em.* The *Carthaginians*, desiring nothing more than Peace, sent their Children within the limited time; and the Consuls landing at *Utica* soon after, they sent their Commissioners to wait upon them, and know their Pleasure. *Censorinus* the Consul, commending their Diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any Fraud were delivered up. Now the *Carthaginians* imploring

ploring Mercy, with many Tears, and all poſſible Submiſſion, deſir'd to know their laſt Doom; the Conſuls told 'em, *That they were commanded to quit their City, which they had ſpecial Orders to level with the Ground, and build another any where in their own Territories, ſo it were but* 10 *Miles from the Sea.* This ſevere Command they receiv'd with all the Concern and Rage of a deſpairing People, and reſolv'd to ſuffer the greateſt Extremities rather than abandon or yield to the Ruin of their ancient Seat and Habitation.

The Conſuls were very backward in beginning the War, not doubting but eaſily to become Maſters of the City, now in this naked and defenceleſs Condition, but they found it far otherwiſe; for the Inhabitants acting by a deſperate Rage and Fury, both Men and Women fell to working Night and Day in the Defence of the City, and making of Arms: And where Iron and Braſs were wanting, they made uſe of Gold and Silver, the Women freely cutting off the Hair of their Heads, to ſupply the place of Tow or Flax. *Aſdrubal*, who had lately been condemn'd upon the account of the *Romans*, was now made their General and Governour of the City, where he had already a good Army; and ſuch Preparations were made, that when the Conſuls came before the City, they found ſuch notable Reſiſtance as much diſcourag'd them, and as much encreas'd the Reſolution of the Beſieg'd. The Conſuls engag'd ſeveral times to their diſadvantage, and might have been great Loſers, had not the Army been ſecur'd and brought off by the great Wiſdom and Courage of *Scipio Æmilianus*, formerly mention'd, who drew over *Pharneas* Maſter of the *Carthaginian* Horſe to his ſide; which Action gain'd him great Fame and Honour. This Year dy'd *Maſaniſſa*, 90 Years old, leaving his Kingdom and a young Son to *Scipio*'s Diſcretion: And the ſame Year dy'd *Cato* in *Rome*, in the 85th

Year of his Age, who did not live to see the too much desir'd Ruine of *Carthage*.

Little was perform'd by the Consuls in the following Year, for they only invested *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking of either; but at *Rome* all Men's Eyes were fix'd upon *Scipio*, looking upon him as the Person destin'd to end the War; and whereas he sought only for the *Ædileship*, the People bestow'd the *Consulship* upon him, dispensing with his Age and other usual Qualifications. *Scipio* soon let 'em know that their Honours were not ill bestow'd; for having restor'd Discipline, which had been too much neglected by the foregoing Consuls, he soon after took that Part of *Carthage* call'd *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel or *Byrsa*. Then securing the *Isthmus* which led to the City, he cut off all Provisions from out the Country, and block'd up the Haven; but the Besieg'd, with miraculous and incredible Industry, cut out a new Passage into the Sea, whereby, at certain times, they cou'd receive Necessaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the Winter, set upon their Forces lying in the Field, of which he kill'd 70000, and took 10000 Prisoners; by which means the Besieg'd cou'd have no Relief from abroad, so that they were now in a sad and despairing Condition.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, he took the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and soon after the *Forum* it self, where was a most miserable and deplorable Spectacle of slaughter'd People; for some hewn in pieces by the Sword, others half kill'd by the Fall of Houses, or Fires; some half bury'd in the Earth and trampled on, and others torn Limb from Limb, lay mangled in vast Heaps after a sad and lamentable manner. Still the Citadel held out, till at last it was desir'd by some, *That all that would come forth should have their Lives*; which being granted to all but Revolters, above 50000 yielded, and were sav'd, as did

id afterwards *Aſdrubal* himſelf. He was much re-il'd for it by the Revolters, who finding their Con-ition deſperate, ſet fire to the Temple, and burnt hemſelves with it; whoſe Example was follow'd y *Aſdrubal*'s Wife, who in a deſperate Fury threw er ſelf and her two Children into the midſt of the Flames. Then was this magnificent City laid in Aſhes, being 24 Miles in compaſs, and ſo large, hat the burning of it continu'd 17 Days together. The Senate at *Rome* receiv'd this long expected News with extraordinary Joy and Satisfaction, and diſpatch'd Men of their own Order, whom they oin'd with *Scipio* for the diſpoſing of the Country. Theſe order'd that none of *Carthage* ſhould be left; and that it might never be re-built, they denounc'd heavy Curſes on any that ſhou'd offer to do it. All the Cities which aſſiſted in this War were order'd to be demoliſh'd, and the Lands given to the Friends of the *Roman* People; and the reſt of the Towns were to be Tributaries, and govern'd yearly by a *Prætor* appointed for that purpoſe, all the Captives and Priſoners being ſold, except ſome of the princi-pal.

This was the fatal end of one of the moſt renown'd Cities in the World, both for Command and Riches, 708 Years after it was firſt built, having been Rival to *Rome* above 100 Years: And this was the End of the third and laſt *Carthaginian* War, which was fi-niſh'd in the 4th Year after it began, to the great Enlargement of the Dominions, Power, and Riches of the *Roman* State. This hapned in the 608th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3859, in the Third Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, 363 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 184 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, 119 ſince the firſt Conteſt between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and 144 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

From the Deſtruction of Carthage *to the End of the Sedition of the* Gracchi; *which much ſhook the Government, and was the firſt Step towards the Ruin of the* Conſular *State.*

Containing the Space of 23 *Years.*

U. C. 608. I. NOW *Rome* began to pride her ſelf to a higher degree than ever, having got free from her Enemies that ſhe moſt fear'd and moſt hated, her Dominions being extended to a large Circumference, and the Common-wealth encreas'd to a noble height of Glory, but to a more dangerous degree of Security in reſpect of Neighbours, which in not many Years prov'd the Diſſolution of the preſent Government. However, the Power and Conqueſts of the State ſtill daily encreas'd, and this ſame Year *Corinth*, one of the nobleſt Cities in *Greece*, ſuſtain'd the ſame Fate with *Carthage*, being levell'd with the Ground. The Occaſion was given by the *Achæans* themſelves, who not only affronted the *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſent to diſſolve the Confederacy, and to leave the Cities to the Government of their own peculiar Laws, but likewiſe join'd with others in a War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, the Allies of *Rome*. Upon theſe Grounds the Senate decreed War againſt 'em, and *Metellus* now in *Macedonia* undertook it; who drawing down his Army thro' *Theſſaly* into *Bœotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes* and *Megara*, about which time *Mummius* the Conſul ſucceeded him in his Province. And this *Mummius* overthrew *Dieus* the *Achæan* General, after which he enter'd *Corinth*, and demoliſh'd it, becauſe there the Ambaſſadors had been affronted. And

Scipio, who destroy'd *Carthage*, like the former *Scipio*, had the Surname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus*, for reducing *Macedonia*, that of *Macedonicus*; so *Mummius*, for his Success this Year, obtain'd the Surname of *Achaicus*, because he reduc'd those Parts, and all *Greece*, with *Epirus*, into the Form of a Province, call'd afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

It was now 74 Years since the *Romans* enter'd *Spain* in a hostile manner, and many and frequent Struggings had been made by that People, especially since the departure of *Scipio Africanus* the Elder: At this time was *Viriatus* up in Arms, who from a Shepherd became a Robber, and from a Robber, a General over a numerous Party of such as himself, which created the *Romans* much trouble for some time. And *Fabius* the Brother of *Scipio* the Younger, after some Success against him, was at last reduc'd to such Extremities, that he was oblig'd to accept of Peace upon unequal Terms, which *Cæpio* the following Years Consul refus'd to stand to, receiving new Orders from the Senate to prosecute the War. *Cæpio* attempted to destroy *Viriatus* by Surprize, but he escap'd, and soon after sending his Ambassadors to treat of a Peace, *Cæpio* so wrought upon 'em, that they murder'd him in his Bed at their return, to their own Shame, and the Consul's great Dishonour. But the most difficult and dangerous part of this War was at *Numantia*, a Town of no great bigness, but peopl'd with Inhabitants of extraordinary Valour. Before *Viriatus*'s Death they had foil'd Q. *Pompeius* the Consul several times, and likewise his Successor *Mancianus*, who were constrain'd to make dishonourable Treaties with 'em, but afterwards sufficient Pretences were found to break 'em, *Mancianus* being deliver'd up bound to the Enemy. After this *Brutus* defeated many thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallæcians*; but *Lepidus* the Proconsul was far less successful, for setting upon the *Vaccæi*, a harmless and quiet People of the hithermost *Spain*, he was entirely defeated by 'em. *U. C.* 609.

These

These Misfortunes so terrify'd the *Roman* Soldiers, that they were ready to tremble at the sight of a *Spaniard*; and this oblig'd the Citizens of *Rome* to chuse *Scipio Africanus* Consul a second time, as the chief Hope and Bulwark of their Country. *Scipio* at first restor'd Discipline, the want of which had been the Cause of all their former ill Success; but coming to engage, he found the Courage of the Enemy so extraordinary, that he resolv'd to fight no more, but lay a close Siege to *Numantia*, which he did with all possible Care and Diligence. At last the Besieged were so straitned, that they offer'd to yield upon reasonable Terms, or to fight if they might have Battel given 'em, notwithstanding the great Inequality of their Numbers: But neither of these being allow'd 'em, they all drank strong Liquors purposely to enflame themselves, and then fell upon the Besiegers with such a desperate Fury, that the *Romans* had all fled, had any other General but *Scipio* commanded 'em. The Besieg'd finding there was no avoiding being made Prisoners, fir'd the City over their own Heads, scarce a Man being left to be led in Triumph. This famous City, seated in *Gallæcia*, had for 14 Years together withstood 40000 *Romans* with only 4000 Men, often putting 'em to great Loss and Shame: And that it might be no longer a Trouble to 'em, *Scipio* destroy'd it, after a Siege of fifteen Months; 13 Years after he had destroy'd *Carthage*, *Mutius Scævola* and *Calpurnius Piso*, both learned Men, being Consuls. *Scipio* gain'd a great Name both by destroying *Carthage* and *Numantia*, the former being a Terror, and the latter a Reproach to the *Romans*. All *Spain* was now brought to a more entire Subjection than ever, being not many Years before divided into the three Provinces of *Terraconensis*, *Bætica*, and *Lusitanica*, two *Prætors* being yearly sent thither for its better Government. At this time flourish'd *Lucilius* the famous *Satyrist*, the first, at least, of note of that

kind

ind in *Rome*; and this ſame Year was a Servile War n *Sicily*, but the Slaves were in a ſhort time intirely roken and diſpers'd.

II. The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate rom their ancient Modeſty, Plainneſs, and Severiy of Life; addicting themſelves more and more to Pleaſure and Luxury: For the *Aſian* Expeditions nd Triumphs having brought in Exceſs and Riot, nd the Ruin of *Carthage* taken away all Fear; Idleeſs and Security, as well as Avarice and Ambition, by degrees ſtole in upon 'em, and almoſt a eneral Corruption began to mix with the State. or tho' after this time many a powerful People vere ſubdu'd, Arts and Learning daily encreas'd nd flouriſh'd, and great Glory was obtain'd abroad, et it was often ſtain'd and ſully'd with inglorious actions, Seditious Jealouſies and Contentions at Home, ſometimes to the ſhedding of one anothers Blood; of which, that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the irſt remarkable Inſtance. This Perſon, being the Elder *Africanus*'s Grandſon, and of a ſtirring and ctive Spirit, had a ſhare in *Mancinus*'s diſhonourale Treaty in *Spain*, for which being reflected on y the Senate (who, not without Injuſtice, had roke it) and therefore both ſham'd and affrighted, e endeavour'd to make himſelf Popular, by reraining the unjuſt Oppreſſions of the Nobility, which were now far more notorious than formerly: And therefore procuring himſelf to be choſen *Tribune*, he preferr'd a Law, forbidding any Man to poſſeſs above 500 Acres of the Publick Lands, and ordering the Overplus to be divided among the Poor. For it was cuſtomary for the *Romans* to divide thoſe Lands which were taken from their Enemies among heir own Citizens, if arable; if not, they Farm'd em out by the *Cenſors* to the *Italians*, or the ordinary ort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plow'd em, they ſhould pay the Tenth part of the Corn,

and

and the Fifth of other Fruits; but if they did n
plow them, they paid a certain Rent. But Co
ruptions daily increasing in the State, the po
Husbandmen were, by degrees, thrust out of th
ancient Possessions by the great Oppressions and I
centiousness of the Rich, who, by purchasing a
other Methods, got these Lands all into their ow
Hands; so that the Publick, by this means, was de
frauded of its Revenues, and the Poor of their Liv
lihoods.

For the Reformation of these Abuses, *Gracc*
took great care; and whereas the *Lex Licinia* a
Sempronia were formerly enacted for restraining th
Avarice of the Rich; he strengthen'd the former b
adding, lest the Law should be wrested, *That e*
half should be given to the Children, and the rest dis
ded among such Poor as had nothing; and lest an
shou'd go about to enlarge their Portions by Pu
chase, *Triumviri*, or Three Men, were yearly a
pointed to judge what Lands were Publick, and wh
were Private. These matters, tho' at first carry
on with sufficient Moderation, extremely disgust
the Nobility and richer sort, who, by vertue
this Law, were to part with much of their Estates
and for that reason they frequently insinuated to th
People, *That* Gracchus *had introduc'd this Law* [illegible]
a Design only to disturb the Government, and to put
things into Confusion. But *Gracchus* being a Person
great Abilities and Eloquence, easily wip'd off thos
Aspersions, and in a Publick Speech told the Peo
ple, *That while the Savage Beasts and Destroyers*
Mankind wanted not their Places of Repose and Refu
those Men who expos'd their Lives for their Countr
were forbidden all Enjoyments but the open Air a
Sun-shine. That their Commanders before the Batt
ridiculously exhor'ed 'em to Fight for the Temples an
Altars, and their Ancestors Seats! *when they had no*
of these to defend or care for. They had the Honour
deed of gaining large and rich Dominions, but had not
pr

ofit of enjoying the ſmalleſt and meaneſt Poſſeſſions; and ewiſe had the Honour of being ſtyl'd Lord of the Uni-rſe, *but had not the Command of one Foot of Land.*

This Speech, and ſome others of his, had great fect upon the common People, who, before ere forward enough in promoting a Law ſo very vantageous to themſelves; but *Gracchus* meet-g with much Oppoſition on one ſide, as well as ncouragement on the other, began now to pro-ed with greater Heat and Violence, and being op-s'd by *Octavius*, one of his Collegues, he ſo ma-ag'd him both by Cunning and Violence, as he as forc'd to quit his Office; into whoſe Place he noſe *Mummius*, one of his own Faction. This ction of his being without all Precedent, much ienated the Minds of many of the Multitude; and s own Party, who judg'd he us'd too great a reedom with the *Sacroſanct* Office of the *Tribune-p. Gracchus* perceiving this, firſt made a very auſible Defence; and the more to ingratiate him-lf with the People, he offer'd to prefer a Law r diſtributing the Money of *Attalus* King of *Perga-os*, which he had lately left, together with his King-om, to the People of *Rome*. This caus'd greater iſturbances among the Senate and Nobility than efore, and all Things were carry'd on with more olent Feuds than ever; ſo that *Gracchus*'s Death be-an now to be thought on and deſign'd, as the ſu-ſt Means to quiet all Diſturbances, and to com-oſe all Differences.

The Senate being aſſembled to conſult the moſt roper Method in this Juncture, and all being of O-nion that *Mutius Scævola* the Conſul ſhou'd defend e Commonwealth by Arms, he refus'd to act any ing by Force. Whereupon *Scipio Naſica*, *Gracchus*'s inſman, taking up his Gown under his Left-Arm, eld up his Right-Hand in great Paſſion, crying, *Since e Conſul regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, every Man that will defend the Dignity and Authority*

of

of the Laws, follow me! Upon this, he went direct up to the *Capitol*, being accompanied with moſt the Senate, many *Equites*, and ſome Commons arm'd with Clubs, Staves, and ſuch like Weapons who knocking down all that reſiſted, open'd the Way into the *Capitol*, where *Gracchus* was ſpeaking to the People, and endeavouring to be choſen *Tribune* for the following Year. In which Place the fell upon both him and his Hearers, of whom they kill'd 300, and with them, himſelf with a piece of a Seat, as he was endeavouring to ſave himſelf by Flight. This was the firſt Inſurrection among the *Romans* that ended with Effuſion of Blood ſince the Abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, tho' many of 'em were very great and laſting, were conſtantly ended by the two Parties yielding to one another, and ſubmitting all to the Good of the Publick; for then Right and Private Intereſt were not underſtood among the *Romans*.

At this time there were ſome Riſings at *Athens* and at *Delos*, being a Spark of that Fire kindled by the Slaves in *Sicily* the Year before, which with ſome Trouble were extinguiſh'd; neither was *Italy* it ſelf altogether free from them. But a greater War enſu'd about the Kingdom of *Aſia*; for *Attalus* King of *Pergamos* or *Aſia*, by his laſt Will had left the People of *Rome* his Heirs as was before obſerv'd: But after his Deceaſe, *Ariſtonicus*, his Baſtard-Brother, ſeiz'd on the Kingdom as his own Inheritance and Right. *Licinius Craſſus* the Conſul was firſt ſent againſt him but was unfortunately overthrown in the firſt Battel and being taken Priſoner, ſtruck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpoſe to provoke him to kill him which he did. He thus miſcarrying, tho' with the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral Kings, his Succeſſor *Perpenna* haſted into *Aſia*, ſet upon *Ariſtonicus* unawares, before he was recover'd of his Security contracted by Victory, firſt overthrew him in Battel, then beſieg[ed] him

him in *Stratonice*, where by Famine he forc'd him to Surrender, ſhortly after which he dy'd himſelf at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finiſh'd by *Aquilius* the following Year's Conſul, who having ſettl'd the Province with ſufficient Oppreſſion of the People, led *Ariſtonicus* in Triumph, tho' he had been taken by another; and afterwards, by Order of the Senate, he was ſtrangled in Priſon, about 4 Years after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, a little before which time a *Luſtrum* being perform'd, 330823 Free Citizens were ceſs'd.

III. The Civil Diſſentions occaſion'd by *Gracchus*, did not die with him; his Law for the Diviſion of the Lands being ſtill in force, of which the People were ſo fond, that many Diſturbances were rais'd upon that Account. Now *Gracchus* had a younger Brother call'd *Caius*, who with *Flaccus*, and *Papirius*, had been made *Triumvirs* for dividing the Grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the Patronage of this Law, and performing his Office with great Vigour, ſuch Trouble aroſe about the Diviſions, the Reckonings, the Accounts, and Removals, that the *Italians* finding themſelves ſeverely preſs'd upon, betook themſelves to *Scipio Africanus* for Eaſe. *Scipio* did not altogether reject their Suit, nor yet wou'd he make any Objections againſt the Law it ſelf; ſo he only mov'd in Senate, *That the Executive Power of it might be taken from the* Triumviri, *and lodg'd in ſome others.* The Senate moſt willingly agreed to this, and conferr'd it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Conſul; but he finding the Work troubleſome and ungrateful, retir'd from the City, under pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being none at preſent to fly to in this Juncture, the People were much incens'd at *Scipio*, accounting him ungrateful, and a Favourer of the *Italians* more than themſelves: Which ill Opinions of him were increas'd by his approving of the Senior *U. C.* 625.

Gracchus's Death, and his reprimanding the Multitude for being diſſatisfy'd with it. But ſuch was his Fortune, that being one Night retir'd to his Chamber to meditate of ſomething to ſpeak to the People the next Day, in the Morning he was found dead in his Bed, not without ſuſpicion of Treachery from his Wife and Mother-in-law, the latter of which was Mother to the *Gracchi*. Nevertheleſs, being then in no favour with the People, little enquiry was made after his Death, tho' he was a Perſon of extraordinary Merits, and had been juſtly eſteem'd the Bulwark of the State.

The Owners of the Land ſtill made Delays in the Diviſion, and ſome believ'd that the Partakers of the Dividends ſhou'd likewiſe have the Freedom of the City; which, however lik'd of by others, was highly diſpleaſing to the Senate. While the People were variouſly diſcourſing of theſe matters, *Caius* obtain'd the *Tribuneſhip*, and bearing a great Enmity to the Senate, he found a fair Opportunity to ſhew it. He preferr'd ſeveral Laws, among the reſt, one for dividing the publick Corn to every Man monthly; in which Laws he ſhew'd himſelf rather more ſtirring and active, and more dextrous than his Brother. Then procuring his Office to be continu'd to him another Year, he began more ſtrictly to inſpect into the late Corruptions of the Senate; ſuch as their taking Bribes, their ſelling of Offices, and ſuch-like unjuſt Proceedings: Whereupon he found means to transfer the Power of judging corrupt Officers, from the Senators to the *Equites* or *Knights*, which gave the latter an extraordinary Authority, and made a remarkable Change and Alteration in the whole Government.

Equites. Theſe *Equites* were firſt inſtituted by *Romulus*, and tho' they were originally in the Common-wealth, yet they had no particular Authority, Rank or Order, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, *That theſe Judgments ſhou'd be peculiar to them.* So that

hat whereas at first, there were only two Orders or Ranks, namely, *Patritian* and *Plebeian*, which thro' he Incroachments of the People, were afterwards istinguish'd only into *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*. By his Law, and especially by the procurement of *Cicero*, afterwards the *Equites* became a distinct Order. Thus now the *Roman* Citizens consisted of three Ranks or Orders, namely, the *Senatorian*, which ncluded all the *Patritians*, and such of the *Plebeians* s cou'd rise to be *Senators*; the *Plebeian*, which still ontinu'd the same as formerly; and the *Equestrian*, which before had always been included in the *Plebeian*, and had been only distinguish'd by their way of Service. *Gracchus* took the fairest Opportunity hat he cou'd expect for preferring this Law; for he Senators were become odious of late, because for Money they had acquitted *Cotta*, *Salinator* and *Aquilius*, Persons capitally guilty of Corruption. But the great Power of these *Equites* became extreamly burdensome to the State, till by degrees their Authority came to be diminish'd. The *Equites* alone were wont o farm the Publick Revenues and Customs from the *Censors*, and from thence had the Name of *Publicans*. *Publicans.* These were the principal of the *Equestrian* Order, the Ornaments of the City, and the Strength of the State, who made up so many Companies as here were Provinces subject to the payment of Toll, Tribute, Custom or Impost.

Caius grew more and more in favour with the Commons, and was invested with a larger Authority than ordinary, which he manag'd with extraordinary Prudence and Cunning, being a Master of much Eloquence, and many other Accomplishments. And the more to gratify the Commons, he took special care about the High-ways, making 'em extraordinary handsom and pleasant, as well as useful and convenient; erecting likewise Pillars of Stone at the end of each Mile, to signify the distances from Place to Place: For *Caius* finding the Senators to be his Enemies, he

endeavoured ſtill more to ingratiate himſelf with the People by other new Laws; particularly, he propos'd that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be ſent to the People of *Tarentum*, and that all the *Latins* ſhou'd enjoy the ſame Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate dreading the Effects of *Caius*'s Power, forbid the *Latins* to come near the City, at ſuch time as they knew his Laws would be propos'd; and the better to ſatisfy and pleaſe the People, they gave leave to the ſending of 12 Colonies. *Caius* thus fruſtrated of his Deſigns, departed into *Africk*, with *Flaccus* his Collegue, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* ſtood, calling it *Junonia*; but there he alſo met with a Diſappointment, the Bound-marks of the intended City being continually remov'd in the Night-time by Wolves, as ſome Authors relate it; whereupon the *Augurs* and *Southſayers* pronounc'd the Deſign unlawful.

Caius having been twice *Tribune*, ſtood for it a third time, and had many Votes, but his Collegues, offended at his violent Carriage at this time, procur'd *Minutius Rufus* to be choſen into his Place, who began to abrogate many of his Laws; wherein he was ſeconded by *Opimius* the Conſul, who was a profeſt Enemy to *Caius*, and endeavour'd to find ſome colourable Pretence to put him to death. Whereupon *Caius*, at the Inſtigation of his Friends, eſpecially *Fulvius*, reſolv'd preſently to raiſe Forces, and at an Aſſembly in the *Capitol*, he and many of his Friends went thither privately arm'd. It happen'd that one *Antilius* a Serjeant, coming down from the *Capitol*, cry'd out to *Fulvius* and his Friends, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honeſt Men!* whereupon they immediately ſlew him. This Murther caus'd a great Diſturbance in the Aſſembly, and *Caius* himſelf was very angry with thoſe of his Party, for giving his Enemies ſo much Advantage againſt him, and endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf, but cou'd not be heard by reaſon of the Tumult; ſo together with his Friends

and

and Confederates, he retir'd home, the Conſul keeping ſtrict Watch all Night in the City. The next Day *Antilius*'s Corps was brought upon a Bier thro' the *Forum*, and expos'd to open View juſt before the Senate-Houſe, with deſign to ſtir up the People to a Revenge. The Senate inveſted *Opimius* with an extraordinary Power, and all the *Equites* were order'd to be in Arms, which forc'd *Caius* and all his Friends to betake themſelves to Mount *Aventine*, where they fortify'd themſelves, offering Liberty to all Slaves that ſhould come in to them.

The Conſul preſs'd hard upon *Caius*, and Proclamation was made, *That whoever ſhou'd bring the Head either of* Caius *or* Fulvius, *ſhou'd receive their Weight in Gold for a Reward.* *Caius* finding himſelf in no condition for a long Defence, in a ſhort time fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procur'd his Servant to kill him, who immediately after kill'd himſelf, and fell down dead upon his Maſter. One *Septimuleius* carry'd his Head to *Opimius*, and 'tis ſaid, that to make it weigh the heavier, he took out the Brains and fill'd the Skull with Lead. *Fulvius* flying to a Friend's Houſe, was betray'd and ſlain; and by the Severity of *Opimius*, no leſs than 3000 Perſons of his Party were put to Death. Thus fell *Caius Gracchus*, above 10 Years after his Brother *Tiberius Gracchus*, and ſix after he began to act much in the Commonwealth. Theſe *Gracchi* had ſo far chang'd the Conſtitutions of the Commonwealth, and the Publick Peace was now ſo broken, particularly by the Diſunion of *Patrons* and *Clients*, that the *Roman* State became very unſettled, and more liable to any new Revolution than ever; and tho' Reformation might be their Deſign, yet it might well be feared, that Ruin wou'd be the Effect of ſuch Diſturbances in a Commonwealth now ſo corrupted with the Greatneſs of their Riches, as well as the Greatneſs of their Power. *Caius*'s Death happen'd in the 621ſt Year of the City, in the 4th Year of the

164th *Olympiad*, 386 Years since the beginning of the *Consular* State, 207 since the setting up of the *Macedonian* Empire, and 121 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XIII.

From the End of the Seditions of the Gracchi, *to the End of the First Civil War in* Italy, *and to the Perpetual* Dictatorship *of* Sylla; *which was the second great Step to the Ruin of the* Consular State.

Containing the Space of 41 *Years.*

U. C. 631. I. THE Distempers and Disturbances of the Commonwealth were for the present asswag'd by the Death of *Caius Gracchus*; and soon after, a Law was made that any one might sell his Land, which the Senior *Gracchus* had forbidden; by which means the Poor, partly by Purchase, and partly by Constraint, were again dispossess'd. After that, the Law for Division of Lands was fully abrogated by *Bacus*, and the Grounds left to their ancient Owners, with a *Proviso* to pay a Tribute to the People out of 'em. But not long after, the Tribute was likewise all taken away, and so nothing was left remaining for the Poor. During these Domestick Troubles, the *Sardinians* rebell'd, and were reduc'd by *Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were punish'd with the Loss of their City by *Opimius* the *Prætor*. About which time *Africk* was infected with a most prodigious Plague, destroying vast Numbers of Men, Cattel, and Fowl, occasion'd by an infinite Number of Locusts, which having over-spread the Ground, and destroy'd the Corn,

Corn, Fruits, and even Trees themſelves, at length were driven by a Wind into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there putrefying, corrupted the Air after a moſt wonderful manner. Two Years after this *Metellus* the Conſul ſubdu'd the Iſlands *Beleares* near *Spain*, and reſtrain'd all the Piracies which were here maintain'd.

At the ſame time was carry'd on that War call'd *Bellum Allobrogicum*, the War with the *Allobroges*, a People inhabiting about the Countries, now call'd *Dauphine* and *Savoy*. This War was occaſion'd firſt by the *Salies*, a People of *Gaul* beyond the *Alps*, who invading the *Maſſilians*, Allies of *Rome*, were chaſtis'd by *Fulvius*, and ſubdu'd by *Sextus Calvinus*. *Teutomalus* their King flying out of the Battel, was receiv'd and protected by the *Allobroges*, who likewiſe invaded the *Hedui*, Allies alſo of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Averni*. The *Allobroges* were firſt overthrown by *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who kill'd 20000 of 'em, and took 3000 Priſoners, which great Victory was owing chiefly to his Elephants. After him *Fabius Maximus*, Grandſon to *Paulus Æmilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* Family, defeated 'em with the *Averni* and *Ruteni*, in a moſt bloody Battel, where 120000 were reported to be ſlain; and moreover, taking one of their Kings Priſoners, he obtain'd the Surname of *Allobrogicus*. About which time *Gallia Narbonenſis* was reduc'd into a Province, in the Year 636. Not long after, the *Scordiſci*, a People of the Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* Army under *Cato* the Conſul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius* the *Prætor*, and the Conſul *Druſus*; and after this they gave occaſion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which Honour *Metellus* alſo had a ſhare. Soon after theſe Wars, in a *Luſtration*, 394336 Free Citizens were poll'd in *Rome*, which Number was very little different from that in the *Luſtrum* five Years before. U. C. 634.

U. C. 643. II. *Rome* had not very much Action abroad for a while, but in no long time began a conſiderable War in *Numidia*, call'd the *Jugurthine* War. It was occaſion'd by *Jugurth*, Grandſon to the famous *Maſaniſſa*, the *Romans* old Friend, who murder'd his Couſin *Hiempſal* to get his Kingdom, and attempted to do the ſame to his Brother *Adherbal*, but he made his eſcape, and fled to the *Romans* for Succour. Whereupon *Jugurth* being ſenſible how much Avarice and Injuſtice had crept into the City, he ſent his Ambaſſadors with large Preſents to *Rome*, which had ſuch Effects upon the Senate, that they decreed him half the Kingdom, and ſent ten Commiſſioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The Commiſſioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their Maſters in the Senate, were alſo brib'd to beſtow the moſt rich and populous Part upon *Jugurth*; but he ſtill unſatisfy'd, fell ſuddenly upon *Adherbal*, beſieg'd him in *Cirta*, and getting him into his Hands, likewiſe murder'd him. For this, War was decreed againſt *Jugurth*, and committed to the Management of *Calpurnius Beſtia* the Conſul, who ſhortly after invaded *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, and took in ſome Towns, but he was ſoon ſtop'd in his Career, being overcome by the Golden Weapons of *Jugurth*, ſo that a Treaty of Peace was ſoon ſet on Foot. The Senate were a little mov'd at this, and at the Power of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Conſul, as his Friend and Counſellor, was likewiſe guilty of the ſame Crime; and therefore the People got *Caſſius Longinus* the *Prætor*, to go and procure *Jugurth* to come to *Rome* upon the Publick Faith of the State, that by that means they might diſcover all ſuch as had been guilty of Bribery.

Caſſius with no great difficulty perſwaded *Jugurtha* to make tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himſelf upon the Peoples Mercy; whereupon he came to *Rome* in a pitiful and mourning Habit.

But

But coming into the Aſſembly, *Bæbius* the *Tribune* bad him hold his Peace, he being alſo brib'd to defer the Buſineſs, and delude the People. At the ſame time was one *Maſſina* in *Rome*, *Jugurth*'s Couſin-German, who had fled from *Africk* formerly. This Perſon was perſwaded by *Albinus* the Conſul to beg the Kingdom of the Senate; but *Jugurth* having ſome Intelligence of the Deſign, procur'd him to be aſſaſſinated, and convey'd the Murderer away to *Numidia*. Hereupon, within a few Days, he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he look'd upon it, with his Hands lift up, crying, O Rome, *that would'ſt be ſold thy Self, were there but a Chapman for thee!* So extreamly were the Inhabitants degenerated from their former Fidelity, Modeſty and Abſtinence, which afterwards brought upon 'em the greateſt Miſeries that ever befell any State. *Albinus* follow'd him with an Army, which after he himſelf had been ſome time there, he left with his Brother *Aulus*, who in the Conſul's Abſence, by vertue of ſome Compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the chief Treaſure of the Kingdom lay, when he was juſt upon inveſting it. The Centurions were likewiſe ſo corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurth* was ſuffer'd to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by former Agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit upon moſt diſhonourable Terms.

In this Condition did *Metellus*, the following Conſul, find Affairs, and the whole Army was almoſt ruin'd for want of Diſcipline, to the great Diſhonour of the *Roman* State, and the grievous Vexation of the honeſter ſort in the City. *Metellus* having with much difficulty brought his Soldiers into good Order, within the ſpace of two Years overthrew *Jugurth* ſeveral times, forc'd him out of ſeveral Towns, and purſu'd him beyond his own Frontiers, which conſtrain'd him to ſubmit and beg Peace; but he in a ſhort time broke the Conditions of it,

and

and ſo the former Hoſtility return'd. At this tim one C. *Marius* was *Legatus*, or *Lieutenant* to *Me lus*, a Perſon of Frugality, Policy, and Military E patience, and of vaſt Courage in War; a Contemn of Pleaſure, but very ambitious of Honour, whi made him extreamly deſirous to gain the *Conſulſh* To obtain this, he privately blam'd *Metellus*, to t Merchants of *Utica*, avowing, *That he was able wi half the Army to take* Jugurth *Priſoner, and to within few Days.* By theſe and the like detracti Diſcourſes, he procur'd many Complaints to b written to *Rome* againſt *Metellus*, and getting lea to go thither, obtain'd the *Conſulſhip*, and had like wiſe the Management of the War committed to hi Notwithſtanding, the People were ſo grateful t *Metellus*, that at his return, being ſatisfy'd as to h Behaviour, they both granted him a Triumph, an beſtow'd upon him the Surname of *Numidicus*, a an additional Honour.

Marius ſhew'd himſelf a very expert Warrior, an in a ſhort time took the City *Capſa*, a Place very ric and ſtrong; and after this, another call'd *Muluc Jugurth* now finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe hi any longer, procur'd *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritani* and his Father-in-law, to joyn with him, who, b the Aſſiſtance of his numerous Cavalry much har raſs'd the *Roman* Army. *Marius* had inveſted *Cir* and *Bocchus* approaching to raiſe the Siege, partly b the Number of his Horſe, reported to be 60000 and partly by the violent Heats and great Duſt the *Romans* were ſorely diſtreſs'd, and the Figh continu'd dangerous and terrible to them for thre Days; at the end of which, a Tempeſt of Rain fal ling, ſpoil'd the Enemies Weapons; and relievd *Marius*'s Men, almoſt famiſh'd with Thirſt; and now the courſe of Fortune changing, the two King were intirely defeated. In another Battel, *Mariu* 'tis ſaid, kill'd 90000, after which *Bocchus* began t repent of his Enterpriſe, and ſent to *Rome* to ente

int

to a League, which he could not procure; never-
eleſs he obtain'd Pardon for his Crime. Not
ng after *Marius* took *Jugurth* in an Ambuſcade,
hither he had drawn him by ſpecious Pretences,
nd deliver'd him up to *Sylla* his *Quæſtor*, who had
rought over ſome Forces from *Italy*; and under
Marius he learnt that Skill in War, which he after-
ards employ'd againſt him. *Jugurth* with his
wo Sons, were led in Triumph by *Marius*; and
ortly after, by Order of Senate, he was put to
eath, and ſo the *Jugurthine* War ended, after it
ad continu'd about Seven Years.

III. At the ſame time a War was carry'd on againſt
he *Cimbri*, a Vagabond People of *Cimbrica Cherſone-*
s, now call'd *Denmark*, who joyning with the
eutones, a Nation of the *Germans*, made dreadful
rruptions into ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Domini-
ns, particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*, where they had o-
erthrown ſeveral *Conſuls*, in the laſt Battel killing
0000 *Romans*, after which they reſolv'd to paſs the
lps into *Italy*. *Rome* began now to be in a great
onſternation, and *Marius* having juſt vanquiſh'd *U. C.*
ugurtha, they made him Conſul a ſecond time, as 650.
he only Man thought able to manage ſo threatning
War, and to preſerve the State. While they conti-
u'd in *Spain*, *Marius* march'd againſt their Friends,
he *Toloſons* in *Gaul*, where King *Copilus* was taken
y *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being made Conſul again
he following Year, he declin'd Fighting till the E-
emies Force was weaken'd by Delays. The next
ear, in his Fourth Conſulſhip, the Enemy, in three
everal Parties were juſt upon paſſing the *Alps* into
aly, and as he attended their Motions, it happen'd
hat his Army was extreamly afflicted with Thirſt,
he *Teutones* and *Ambrones* lying between them and
he Water, which Neceſſity brought him to an En-
agement with 'em; and in two Days time, he, by
is excellent Conduct, utterly deſtroy'd 'em, taking

Theu-

Theutobocchus their King Priſoner. The *Cimbri* eſcap'd him, and fled over into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Winter-Seaſon, and the *Alps* cover'd with Snow, being in vain oppos'd by *Catulus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the River *Atheſis*, nigh *Verona*. The Year following *Marius* was again made Conſul, and joyning with *Catulus*, was challeng'd by the Enemy to give Battel. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous Army; and gave 'em a moſt dreadful Overthrow; their Wives all the while making a wonderful Reſiſtance from the Chariots; and when they ſaw all things in a deſperate Condition, they in a great Fury, firſt kill'd all their Children, and after that themſelves. About 140000 were ſlain in this Battel, and 60000 taken Priſoners, which ended this War, after it had continued 12 Years, *Marius* (the Fifth time) and *Aquilius Nepos* being Conſuls: The former was then eſteemed the Preſerver of his Country, and contented himſelf with one Triumph, when he might have had more; and his Collegue had now alſo finiſh'd the Second *Servile* War in *Sicily*, which had laſted almoſt Four Years.

Notwithſtanding theſe Dangers abroad, the City was not without Domeſtick Troubles, which were occaſion'd by *Saturninus*, one of *Marius*'s Friends, who having been *Quæſtor* at *Oſtia*, during a Famine was turn'd out of his Place by the Senate; to revenge which uſage, he procur'd the *Tribuneſhip*. But after his Year was expir'd, *Metellus Numidicus*, formerly mention'd, being *Cenſor*, endeavour'd to remove him from the *Senate*, but was hinder'd by his Collegue. This ſo enrag'd him, that he ſtood again for the *Tribuneſhip*; and Nine of the Ten *Tribunes* being choſen by the Aſſiſtance of *Marius*, he murder'd *Nonius* his Competitor, and ſo obtain'd the Place. Now being once again in Power, he preferr'd a Law for the Diviſion of ſuch Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gaul*, and compell'd the *Senate* to ſwear to it, which Oath *Numidicus* refuſing, he ſet him a Da

o anſwer it before the People; but for fear of him nd *Marius* together, *Numidicus* fled to *Smyrna* in *Aſia*. *Saturninus* procuring the Tribuneſhip a third ime, and finding *Memmius* Candidate for the *Conſul-ip*, he alſo caus'd him to be murder'd, to make way or *Glaucius* the *Prætor*, one of his own Party. Theſe aſe and ungenerous Practices rais'd ſeveral Trou-les and Commotions in the City, and the *Senate* eſolv'd to make him anſwer it; whereupon *Marius* ow a ſixth time Conſul, perceiving him in a de-lining Condition, very politickly withdrew himſelf rom his Friendſhip. The Conſuls were now, as in ome other dangerous Times, inveſted with an un-ſual and *Dictatorian* ſort of Power, the manner of conferring of which was by a Vote of the *Senate*, in heſe or the like Words, *Videant Conſules ne quid de-rimenti Reſpublica accipiat*. *Marius* therefore with is Collegue, ſet upon *Saturninus* in the Publick Aſſembly, and forc'd him and his Followers into he *Capitol*, where for want of Water, they were conſtrain'd to yield; after *Marius* had given 'em his aith for their Safety. *Saturninus* and *Glaucius* much ely'd upon *Marius*, not ſcrupling to give out, *That hey were but the Actors and Inſtruments of his Deſigns.* U. C. But notwithſtanding this Security, they were all cut 654. n pieces by the *Equites* in the *Forum*, who broke in mong 'em; and *Numidicus*, eſpecially by his Son's nduſtry, was recall'd, with the general Applauſe f the People.

The Wars abroad, and the Diſſentions and Cor-uptions at home, did not hinder Learning, for that till flouriſh'd more than ever, and *Poetry* was come lmoſt to its higheſt pitch in *Rome*; for a little before his, flouriſh'd the famous *Lucretius*, an admirable oet in his kind, and in many Particulars ſcarce in-eriour to *Virgil*. Now for the ſpace of ſeven or ight Years, there was no great Action abroad, nor ny open Sedition at home; but however there was reat Diſſatisfaction among thoſe of the *Senatorian* Order,

Order, by reaſon of the Power of Judicature, given to the *Equites* by *C. Gracchus*'s Laws, which prov'd an extraordinary grievance to 'em. The Common-wealth too was bought and ſold; the *Publicans*, who farm'd the Publick Revenues, being as they were *Equites*, both Judges and Parties. Upon theſe accounts, *Druſus* the *Tribune*, a very eminent and well-deſigning Perſon, endeavour'd to reſtore the Fathers to their antient Privileges and Authority, and yet not offend the *Equites*; and therefore the *Senate* being now reduc'd to a ſmall Number, he preferr'd a Law, that as many *Equites* ſhou'd be added to them, and that the Power of Judicature ſhould be committed equally to all that ſhou'd be then of this Body. This gave great Offence to both Parties; and *Cæpio* alſo one of *Druſus*'s Collegues, oppos'd him, and coming into the *Senate*, there accus'd ſome of the higheſt Rank of illegal Endeavours to gain Offices. *Druſus*, to withſtand his Deſigns, again propos'd the *Agrarian* Law; and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, the preſent Poſſeſſors, might not take it amiſs, he gave 'em hopes of the Freedom of the City. A great Concourſe of Strangers was occaſion'd upon this account, and as great a Contention rais'd; where *Philippus* the Conſul, for oppoſing the Law for dividing the Lands, was diſgracefully buffeted by one of the Strangers, and violent Diſturbances follow'd. *Druſus* diſappointed in this particular, ſtill endeavour'd to perform his Promiſe to the *Italians*; but going home, accompany'd with a great multitude of People, he was ſtabb'd in the Court of his own Houſe, having Breath enough to ſay, *That the Common-wealth cou'd never find a Perſon more true to her Intereſt than he.*

U. C. 663. IV. Theſe Troubles did not end with *Druſus*'s Death; for ſoon after, a very dangerous War broke out upon this account with moſt of the *Italians*, call'd the *Social* or *Italian* War. Theſe People had,

or ſome time, taken it very heinouſly, that they were deny'd the Freedom of the City, which had been partly promis'd 'em in the time of the *Gracchi*. But now *Druſus*'s Death, who had very much heightned their Expectations, inrag'd 'em more than ever, eſpecially when the *Equites*, immediately after, had, by force of Arms, procur'd a Law for baniſhing all the great Perſons who were not for their Intereſt. The *Italians* alſo thought that they had ſufficient reaſon to expect this Privilege from that City, whoſe Subſiſtence and Empire had been ſo much maintain'd by their Valour, they commonly ſending out double the number of Troops to thoſe of *Rome*. Upon theſe Grounds they reſolv'd to procure that by Force and Violence, which cou'd not be obtain'd by Intreaties and civil Means, and thereupon they join'd together in a cloſe Confederacy, and privately ſent Meſſages and Hoſtages to each other; namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marſi*, *Peligni*, with many others, and eſpecially the old Enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, who made their Preparations with equal Diligence and Secreſy.

Theſe private Tranſactions being diſcover'd at *Rome*, tho' late enough, Spies were immediately ſent out into all Quarters, to make what further Diſcoveries they cou'd. One of which happening to ſee a young Man of *Aſculum* carry'd into another City for an Hoſtage, thereupon acquainted *Servilius* the Proconſul, who, going to *Aſculum*, and reprimanding the Citizens of that Place, was ſet upon and ſlain, together with all the *Romans*. Their Deſigns being now wholly diſcover'd, for their greater ſecurity they all broke out into open Rebellion: However firſt, they thought it moſt convenient to ſend to *Rome* to complain; but their Meſſengers cou'd not be admitted without Satisfaction and Repentance for what they had already done. Whereupon the War was committed to both the Conſuls together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and ſeveral others

who

who had *Proconſular* Authority, the Forces on either ſide amounting to about 100000 fighting Men. The War was very dangerous and deſtructive, and *Rutilius* the Conſul in a ſhort time loſt his Life, falling into an Ambuſcade laid by the *Marſi*; and the *Romans* receiv'd many terrible Blows, ſo that they were conſtrain'd to liſt many who had been Slaves. The Bodies of the Conſul, and ſeveral others, being carry'd into the City, ſo diſcourag'd the People, that the *Senate* made a Decree, that henceforward the Bodies of the Slain ſhou'd be bury'd where they dy'd, which, as a prudent Example, was likewiſe follow'd by the Enemy. After the Death of *Rutilius*, his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Cæpio*, who acted in Conjunction with him. *Cæpio* was ſlain not long after in an Ambuſcade laid by *Popedius*, one of the *Italian* Generals; ſo *Marius* had his deſire of Commanding alone, and did excellent Service, as likewiſe did *Sylla* the ſame Year.

For the following Year, *Pompeius Strabo*, Father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato*, were made *Conſuls*, and now the *Senate* thought fit to give the Freedom of the City to ſuch of the *Italians* as had not revolted, which much eſtabliſh'd thoſe who were ſomewhat wavering in their Minds, and abated the Courage of the other already ingag'd: Yet theſe were not choſen into any of the 35 *Tribes*, but were plac'd by themſelves behind all, ſo that in voting, they cou'd not hinder the reſt, which afterwards caus'd ſome Duſturbance. *Cato* the Conſul did very good Service this Campaign, which ſwell'd him with ſuch an Opinion of himſelf, that he boaſted himſelf equal to *Marius*, for which he was ſlain by *Marius*'s Son, in the midſt of a Battel againſt the *Marſi*. His Collegue *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Aſculani*; and having long beſieg'd *Aſculum*, he defeated the Enemy which ſally'd out upon him; he likewiſe kill'd 18000 of the *Marſi*, taking 3000 Priſoners. And at laſt poſ-

ſeſſing

ſeſſing himſelf of *Aſculum*, he caus'd all the Officers and principal Men in the City, to be firſt ſcourg'd, and then beheaded. *Sylla* alſo perform'd many great Actions, overthrowing the *Samnites*, and ſtorming two of their Camps, which Succeſs ſo elevated him, that he immediately ſtood for the Conſulſhip, and obtain'd it, having the Honour likewiſe of finiſhing this dangerous War, nigh three Years after it was begun; a War ſo deſtructive, that it conſum'd above 300000 of the Youth of *Italy*, according to *Paterculus*. This War was ended with a diſturbance in the City about Uſury, and the unexpected Privileges of the conquer'd *Italians*, who had the Freedom of the City given 'em, juſt as the others had a ſhort time before, and ſo all things were happily quieted.

V. But Quiet and Peace was too great a Happineſs for *Rome* at this time, for the *Social* War was ſcarce finiſh'd, when two others broke out, one the Cauſe of the other. The firſt was with *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, in *Aſia Minor*, a Prince famous for his Knowledge and Learning, mighty in Riches and Power, of a boundleſs Ambition, and a Former of vaſt Deſigns. This King, by ſeveral Actions, had gain'd the Enmity of *Rome*, particularly by procuring *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, to declare againſt the *Roman* State, and by his over-running his Neighbours, the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and other Allies of *Rome*. And which was more provoking than all the reſt, he had taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the latter of which he kill'd, by pouring melted Gold down his Throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with Avarice and Corruption. Upon all theſe Accounts, the *Romans* proclaim'd War againſt him; and *Sylla* and *Pompeius Rufus* being Conſuls, it fell to the former's ſhare to undertake it. But *Sylla* having not yet quite finiſh'd the *Social* War, *Marius* ſtirr'd by the deſire either of Profit or of Honour, perſuaded *Sul-* *U. C.* 666.

picius, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the Management of this War from *Sylla* to him. He made what Parties he cou'd, and drew the People of *Italy* to his ſide, who had lately been made free of the City, by promiſing 'em equal Privileges with thoſe in the 35 *Tribes*, which as yet they wanted; ſo that Matters were carry'd on with violent Heats and Contentions; and *Pompey*'s Son, and Son-in-law to *Sylla*, was kill'd in the midſt of theſe Tumults and Diſturbances.

Sylla hearing of theſe dangerous Commotions, haſten'd to the City, eaſily perſuading his Army to ſtand by him in all Exigences; for they were very unwilling to have any other go on that Expedition, from which they promis'd themſelves ſuch great Advantages. His Collegue *Pompey* join'd with him, and tho' *Marius*, and *Sulpicius* the *Tribune*, made all poſſible Oppoſition, yet, after ſome Difficulty and Bloodſhed, they enter'd the City, and *Marius* with his Accomplices were forc'd to betake themſelves to flight; and thus began the other War, which was the firſt Civil War of any Note among the *Romans*, as the Troubles of the *Gracchi* were the firſt in which there had been any Bloodſhed of Note. *Sylla* did no Injury to the Citizens in general, but revers'd all that *Sulpicius* had done, regulated the *Senate*, procur'd *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading Men, to be declar'd open Enemies to their Country, made it lawful for any Perſon to kill them, and ſet their Goods to Publick Sale. Shortly after this, he departed upon his Expedition againſt *Mithridates*, who now had very much extended his Conqueſts, even to the ſubduing a great Part of *Greece* it ſelf. *Sulpicius* was in a ſhort time taken and put to death; but *Marius* hid himſelf in the Fens of *Minturnum*, where, being diſcover'd, a *Gaul* was ſent to kill him, but he was ſo daſh'd and amaz'd at the Nobleneſs of his Preſence, that he cou'd not perform his Order: So that *Marius* being convey'd

out

out of that Place, eſcap'd into *Africk*, where he was join'd by *Cethegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, expecting a convenient Opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompeius Rufus* the Conſul, to ſecure *Italy*, was at the ſame time appointed to receive and command the Army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great Service in the *Social* War, and had ſo far gain'd the Affection of his Men, that they finding they were like to part with their old General, ſtood up and ſlew the Conſul himſelf; ſo that now there were great Dangers and Diſturbances in all Parts.

Cornelius Cinna and *C. Octavius* were made Conſuls for the following Year: *Cinna*, corrupted, as ſome are of Opinion, immediately declar'd himſelf for the new Citizens, and recall'd *Marius*, with the reſt of the Exiles; which Actions were ſo violently oppos'd by his Collegue *Octavius*, that *Cinna* was by Force driven from the City, and *Merula* put in his Place. *Cinna*, upon this, going about to the *Italian* People, by giving 'em freſh Hopes of equal Privileges with the *Romans*, and pretending, *That all his Troubles and Sufferings were purely for their ſakes*, obtain'd great Sums of Money. *Marius* alſo coming over to him ſhortly, they, together, rais'd a conſiderable Army, and *Cinna* march'd directly to *Rome*, and ſat down before it, to the great Surprize and Terror of the Inhabitants. *Marius* at the ſame time march'd againſt *Oſtia*, and took it by Force; but *Cinna* before *Rome*, finding he was not like to carry the Place, broke up the Siege, and inveſted *Ariminum*, which he ſoon after ſtorm'd. *Marius*, after the taking of *Oſtia*, advanc'd with his whole Army, and poſted himſelf upon the Hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which again put the Inhabitants into a great Conſternation, eſpecially for that he was ſoon after join'd by *Cinna*. The Conſuls, finding they cou'd not recall *Sylla* from Countries ſo far diſtant, ſent to *Metellus*, then lying

with an Army in *Samnium*; but he differing with them about ſome Conditions, ſhortly after join'd himſelf with *Marius*: At which time the City was nigh being betray'd by *Ap. Claudius*, a *Tribune* of the Army, who was inveſted with the Command of the *Janiculum*; but tho' he and *Cinna* broke in, they were repell'd by *Octavius*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Proconſul*, who was ſhortly after kill'd with a Thunder-bolt.

Marius, after this, took in ſeveral Towns about *Rome* where Proviſions lay, and *Cinna*, by the fair Promiſes of Liberty, drew great Numbers of Slaves out of the City; which the Senate perceiving, diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, deſiring them *to come into the City peaceably, and ſpare their own Country-men.* *Cinna* refus'd to admit of any Addreſs made to him as a Private Man, ſo that they were forc'd to treat with him as *Conſul*, and deſir'd him to ſwear *that he wou'd ſhed no blood.* *Cinna* abſolutely refus'd to take ſuch an Oath; but promis'd, *that knowingly and willingly he wou'd not be the Cauſe of any Man's Death*: *Marius* ſtood by him, and ſaid nothing, but gave ſufficient Teſtimony by the Soureneſs of his Countenance, and the Sternneſs of his Looks, that he wou'd ſhortly fill the City with Maſſacres. But the better to diſſemble his Rage, he at laſt broke Silence, telling the Ambaſſadors, *That he was then in Exile, and baniſh'd his Country by courſe of Law; that if his Preſence were neceſſary, they muſt repeal the former Act of his Baniſhment by a new Decree, that he might be received as a Religious Obſerver of the Laws, and might enter the City free from Fear or Oppreſſion.* Upon this all Matters were adjuſted, and the Law for baniſhing *Marius*, and his Aſſociates, abrogated.

Upon their Entrance into the City, great Plunderings and miſerable Slaughters began in all Places. *Octavius* the Conſul, tho' he had the Oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, yet refuſing to fly from his Charge, was kill'd, and his Head ſet upon the *Roſtra*, to which

was

was added that of *M. Antonius*, Grand-father to the *Triumvir* with *Auguſtus*, an excellent Orator, who by the Charms of his Eloquence defended himſelf a conſiderable time againſt the Rage of the Soldiers, and ſeveral others. Dreadful Tumults and Out-cries were in all Places; and none were ſpar'd either for the Dignity of their Worths, or their Ages. The dead Bodies being barbarouſly mangl'd, and abominably abus'd, were left to be torn in Pieces, and devour'd by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury 'em. All *Sylla*'s Friends were ſlaughter'd without Mercy, his Houſe demoliſh'd, his Goods ſet to Sale, and he himſelf judg'd and declar'd an Enemy to *Rome*. *Merula*, tho' he never ſought the Conſulſhip, and *Catullus*, having their Days ſet 'em to anſwer for their Lives, deſtroy'd themſelves. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus ſatiated themſelves with the Blood of others, made themſelves Conſuls for the following Year; but *Marius* dy'd about a Month after, in the 70th Year of his Age, within leſs than two Years after the breaking out of this Civil War, being a noble Soldier, and a brave Commander, but much more ſerviceable to his Country in the time of War than in Peace, and the only Perſon who had the Honour of the Conſulſhip ſeven times.

VI. In the time of theſe unhappy Troubles at home, *Sylla* perform'd many noble Exploits againſt *Mithridates*, who not long before his arrival had commanded in one Day 80000, ſome ſay 150000 *Romans* and *Italians* in *Aſia*, to be murder'd in cold Blood. *Sylla* firſt overthrew *Archelaus* his General nigh *Athens*, ſo effectually, that of his 120000 Men ſcarce 10000 were left; then he gave him another great Defeat, recover'd *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Aſia*, and other Countries, which *Mithridates* had got into his hands, and withal took his Fleet from him; inſomuch that *Mithridates* was very willing to come to a Treaty, which *Sylla* notwithſtanding *Mithridates*'s high Provo-

cation before, was not much averſe to, being in want of Money, and very deſirous to return to *Italy*, and to revenge himſelf of thoſe who had declar'd him an Enemy to *Rome*. The principal Articles of the Peace were, *That* Mithridates *ſhou'd pay the Charges of the War, and that for the future he ſhou'd be content with his Father's Kingdom*; which were ratify'd in leſs than three Years after the beginning of the War. *Sylla* ſeverely fin'd *Aſia* for its Revolt, and ſettling Affairs according to the preſent occaſion, he return'd for *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his way, from whence he carry'd the famous Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were moſt of the Books of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, then not vulgarly known. He ſoon after wrote to the Senate at *Rome*, recounting all his great Services he had done for the State, and how ungratefully he had been us'd by *Marius*'s Party, telling them plainly, *That he was coming to revenge both himſelf and the Publick, by puniſhing the Authors of thoſe Injuries, tho' the reſt he wou'd ſpare, whether they were old or new Citizens.*

The Senate extreamly dreaded the effects of *Sylla*'s return, well knowing it wou'd be fatal to many, and even to ſome who had unwillingly join'd with *Marius*; therefore they ſent to treat with him, offering all their Endeavours for his Satisfaction, if he would quickly make known his Demands. And that there might be the leſs Blood ſhed, they order'd *Cinna* to diſcontinue his Levies; but he finding there was no way of ſupporting his Intereſt, but by Arms, only return'd 'em a plauſible Anſwer, and proceeded to raiſe Soldiers, deſigning to make himſelf and his Collegue *Carbo* Conſuls for the following Year, that there might be no neceſſity of returning to *Rome* for a new Election. He ſent over part of his Troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla*; but thoſe behind were driven back to *Italy* by a Storm, after which they abſolutely refus'd to fight againſt their own Country-men; ſo that all the reſt, who as yet had not put to Sea, refus'd

fus'd to go on board. Hereupon *Cinna* going to ſpeak with 'em, one of his Officers who made way before him, ſtruck one of 'em; at which the Soldier ſtruck him again, and being apprehended for this Crime, a great Tumult and Mutiny aroſe among the reſt of the Men, wherein *Cinna* himſelf was run through; and thus periſh'd in his fourth *Conſulſhip*, a Perſon worthier to have dy'd by the Command of the Conqueror, than by the Fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* continu'd Conſul by himſelf the remaining part of the Year.

Sylla before this time had receiv'd the Senate's Propoſals, and return'd for Anſwer, *That he wou'd never be reconcil'd to ſuch wicked Perſons as* Cinna *and* Carbo, *who beſides many pernicious Practices againſt their Country's good, had procur'd War to be decreed againſt him who had done it ſo much Service: But if the People of* Rome *wou'd give 'em Indemnity, he ſhou'd not oppoſe it; yet he thought all ſuch as came over to him to be far more ſafe, ſince he had ſo conſiderable an Army at his devotion.* This ſufficiently declaring his Intentions; he alſo demanding Reſtitution of his Eſtate, his ancient Dignity and Honours; but the Meſſengers coming to *Brunduſium*, and there hearing of *Cinna*'s Death, and the Diſturbances of the Common-wealth, return'd back to him. *Sylla* then croſs'd the Sea with a Fleet of 1600 Ships, and 60000 Men, and landed at *Brunduſium*, where he was join'd by *Metellus Pius*, who had retir'd from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewiſe by *Pompey*, afterward ſurnam'd the *Great*, who from this time became *Sylla*'s great Favourite. Beſides theſe, came alſo *Cethegus*, who having before join'd with *Cinna*, now begg'd Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the preſent Conſuls, together with *Carbo*, made all neceſſary Preparations for Reſiſtance; and the firſt trial at Arms was at *Canuſium*, where *Norbanus* loſt 6000 Men, and fled to *Capua*. His Collegue *Scipio* ſhortly after, through the Treachery of his Army, fell with his

U. C. 670.

Son into the Hands of *Sylla*, who civilly diſmiſs'd them both. After this, *Sylla* ſent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but not being thought ſerious, perhaps, had no Anſwer return'd him.

Italy now began to feel all the Deſolations and Miſeries of a Civil War, *Sylla* making great Devaſtations on one ſide, and *Carbo* on the other, who getting into *Rome*, procur'd *Metellus*, and the reſt who join'd with *Sylla*, to be declar'd Enemies to the State. Both Parties diligently ſent up and down to the *Italian* Cities, labouring by all poſſible Ways and Methods to procure Forces; and thus was the reſt of the Summer ſpent, in which time the *Capitol* was burnt down, none knowing by what means it was done; this hapned about 430 Years after it was firſt built. The following Year, *Carbo* a third time, and young *Marius*, the Son of the former, were made Conſuls; the latter at 27 Years of Age. In the beginning of the Campaign, *Carbo*'s Lieutenant, *Carinus* was overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himſelf by *Sylla*. *Marius* was driven into *Præneſte*, where being cloſely beſieg'd, and almoſt deſpairing of Relief, he in a great Rage wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, *To uſe ſome Pretence to call the Senate, and then to kill the principal of them who were his Enemies*; which Order was executed with great Cruelty: So that whatſoever ſide were Conquerors, *Rome* was ſtill a miſerable Sufferer. *Metellus* having by this time overthrown *Carbo* once more, and *Pompey* defeated *Marcius*, another of that Party, *Sylla* march'd directly to *Rome*, which Place he eaſily enter'd, great numbers of the oppoſite Faction being fled into the Country.

The Inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terrify'd at *Sylla*'s Entrance; but he only put the Goods of the Perſons that fled to ſale, wiſhing the People *not to be dejected, for he was oblig'd to act as he did*: Then leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in the City, he departed to *Cluſium*, where he and his Officers ſeveral times overthrew

rew *Carbo*'s Armies. *Carbo*, being now upon the efenſive, ſent eight Legions to *Præneſte*, to relieve is Collegue *Marius*; but they were met by *Pompey* n a narrow Paſſage, where he ſlew many of 'em, and iſpers'd the reſt. Soon after, *Carbo* being join'd with *Norbanus*, engag'd with *Metellus*, and had 10000 of is Men ſlain, and 6000 yielded; whereupon great umbers went over to *Sylla*'s Party, which preſently ecame Maſters of all *Gaul* on that ſide the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be deliver'd p, he kill'd himſelf; and *Carbo* fled to *Africk*, tho' he ad 30000 Men at *Cluſium*, beſides other Forces, all hich ſoon after were broken and diſpers'd by *Pom-y*. But *Carinus* and *Marcius*, with other Comman-ers, by the aſſiſtance of the *Samnite* Troops, endea-our'd to force the Trenches at *Præneſte*, and relieve *Marius*; but finding it impracticable, they advanc'd o *Rome*, where meeting with *Sylla*, a moſt bloody attel was fought at the very Gates, in which many houſands were ſlain on both ſides. But *Sylla* at laſt btain'd the Victory, and *Carinus* and *Marcius* were aken, and their Heads ſent to *Præneſte* to be ſhewn o the Inhabitants, at which ſorrowful Sight they urrender'd to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* kill'd himſelf, hoſe Head was ſet up in the Pleading-place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneſte*, with the Natives and *Sam-ites*, were put to death without Mercy; only the *Romans* eſcap'd with their Lives, and this rich City was plunder'd. *Norba* a little after was taken, and he Inhabitants ſetting the Town on Fire, all de-troy'd themſelves, ſome one way, and ſome another: o now all *Italy* came under the Power of *Sylla*.

Sylla, having been thus ſucceſsful againſt his Ene-mies at home, ſent *Pompey* into *Africk* againſt *Carbo*, nd gave him charge to paſs from thence into *Sicily* gainſt others of that Party. *Pompey* in a ſhort time drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and caus'd his Head to be cut off, and ent to *Sylla*. But *Rome* in the mean time now ſe-verely

verely felt the dreadful Effects of Civil Contests; for *Sylla* calling the People together, told them, *That he wou'd put 'em into a better Condition, if they were obedient to his Commands; but as for his Enemies, he was resolv'd to prosecute them with all sorts of Miseries and Calamities*; which he did with more severity than any before him, killing and butchering many thousands after a most barbarous and inhuman manner. Eight thousand were put to death together in the *Villa Publica*, a large House in the *Campus Martius*; Men were slain in the Embraces of their Wives, Children in the Arms of their Mothers, and Liberty was given to the Soldiers to kill all they met, without distinction, till *Furfidius* a little stopp'd the Current of his Rage, by putting him in mind that he ought to leave some for *Sylla* to reign over, then publish'd Tables of *Proscription* for particular Persons, these being the first ever known in *Rome*, wherein were proscrib'd 80 *Senators*, and 1600 *Equites*, to which he afterwards added more, promising great Rewards to the Discoverers, and threatning Death to the Concealers of them. Of these Out-law'd Persons some were slain in their Houses, others in the Streets, and others prostrate at his Feet, begging their Lives; and those that fled, their Goods were seiz'd on. *Marius*, Brother to *Sylla*'s great Enemy, had his Eyes first pull'd out, then his Hands and Legs cut off at several times, that he might die with the greater Torment. *C. Julius Cæsar*, a young Man of wonderful promising Abilities, who had marry'd *Cinna*'s Daughter, very hardly escap'd the common Miseries of these Times, of whom *Sylla* was wont to say, after a prophetick manner, *That in* Cæsar *were many* Marius's.

Rome was not the only Sufferer in these dreadful Calamities; for this Proscription was carry'd through out all the Cities of *Italy*, where the mercileſs Effusion of Blood was such, that neither the Temples of the Gods, nor all the Sanctuaries cou'd afford Protection to any Man. Both the Consuls being now destroy'd,

Sylla

lla withdrew himself from the City, and order'd e Senate to create an *Inter-rex*, which they most illingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. He wrote to im to ask the People, that since Affairs were yet uch unsettl'd, a *Dictator* might be created, and that ot for any limited time, but till all Publick Evils nd Grievances shou'd be redress'd, not forgetting mention himself. This the People were constrain'd yield to, he having then all the Power in his own nds; and so this Office, which had been inter-itted for 120 Years, was conferr'd on him with-it any limitation of Time. And thus ended the rst Civil War in *Italy*, tho' not in all other places, bout six Years after it began, and four after the rst *Marius*'s Death, in the 672d Year of the City, the Third Year of the 174th *Olympiad*, 427 ears since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 248 nce the setting up of the *Macedonian* Empire, and o before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. XIV.

From the Perpetual Dictatorship *of* Sylla, *to the first* Triumvirate, *namely, that of* Cæsar, Pompey *and* Crassus; *which prov'd the Ruin of the* Consular State, *and the first Step to the setting up the* Imperial.

Containing the Space of 22 Years.

THE Government of *Rome* was now for some space chang'd to a Monarchy, *Sylla*'s Power eing unlimited as to Time; and tho' to keep up a ew of a Common-wealth, he permitted *Consuls* to e made, yet he plainly reign'd alone, having 24 *Li-ors* with their *Fasces* and *Axes*, and a great Guard onstantly to attend his Person, as the Kings in for-ner times had, and repealing old Laws, and enacting new

Dic. lxxi. Perpetual. *U. C.* 672.

new at his pleaſure. He regulated the Conſulſhip, ordering that none ſhou'd be capable of it without firſt paſſing thro' other Offices. He remov'd that Plague to the Senate, the *Tribuneſhip*, by making thoſe who bore it uncapable of any other Truſt. He added 300 of the *Equites* to the Senate, and likewiſe 10000 of the Slaves of the *Proſcribed* to the People, making 'em Free, and calling 'em *Cornelii* according to his own Name; and he aſſign'd great quantities of Land to 23 Legions, the better to ſecure and bind 'em to his Intereſt. This was the firſt Year of *Sylla*'s Reign, in which the War broke out again with *Mithridates*, about three Years after the firſt, occaſion'd by *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left behind him in *Aſia*. This Perſon being extraordinary ambitious of a Triumph, found an Opportunity of making a Breach with *Mithridates*, contrary to the Senate's Deſigns; but as it prov'd, he only procur'd himſelf an Overthrow, and *Mithridates* a Peace not long after, which finiſh'd the ſecond War with that Prince, having laſted above two Years.

In the ſecond Year of *Sylla*'s Office he again made Conſuls, but join'd himſelf with *Cæcilius Metellus*, he being one, which courſe the Emperors afterwards imitated. The Year after, when the People deſign'd him Conſul again, he declin'd it, and choſe two others; and then, to the great Surprize and Wonder of all Men, he laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, in the third Year of his Office; and what was more ſurpriſing, tho' he had done ſo many cruel and wicked Acts, he like a Man perfectly juſt and innocent, freely offer'd to give an Account of all his Management and Proceedings. Yet we find none accus'd him but one young Man, whoſe ſcurrilous Language to him made him ſay, *That ſuch coarſe Uſage for the future wou'd keep any Man from laying down an Office of ſuch Supream Authority*; which *Julius Cæſar* afterwards ſeem'd to have been aware of. Not long after he retir'd himſelf into the Country, where following nothing but his Pleaſure,

he dy'd in a ſhort time at *Puteoli*, his Body being pu-trefy'd, and all turn'd into Lice. This was the End of *Cornelius Sylla*; and as his Life was very pernicious to his Country, ſo was his Death extreamly trouble-ſome to it, the two Conſuls and their Factions falling out about the Honours deſign'd for him at his Funeral. *Catullus* prevailing againſt his Collegue *Lepidus*, his Body was carry'd in great Pomp and State through the City, and was the firſt in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent being treated as *Marius* before had been, whoſe Bones *Sylla* himſelf had or-der'd to be digg'd up and thrown away.

After this, the Conſuls fell into greater Diſſen-ſions about the Lands given away by *Sylla*, which *Lepidus* was for returning to the former Poſſeſſors. The Senate being very fearful of another War, made 'em both ſwear, *Not to decide the Controverſy by the Sword.* But *Lepidus* reſolv'd not to return out of his Province, till the new Election of Conſuls was over, and then to begin a War, thinking himſelf diſcharg'd from his Oath when he was out of his Office. Hereupon the Senate ſent for him, and at his return, he offer'd to bring his Troops into the City, but being oppos'd by *Catullus* and *Pompey*, a Battel inſu'd, wherein he was overthrown, and fleeing to *Sardinia*, he dy'd the ſame Year with *Sylla*. This was not the end of all theſe Troubles, for a more dangerous War was ſtill depending in *Spain* againſt *Q. Sertorius*, an admirable expert Com-mander of *Cinna*'s Faction, who had driven out all *Sylla*'s Party from *Spain*, and had choſen 300 of his Friends, whom he call'd a Senate, in Oppoſition to that of *Rome*. *Sertorius* having join'd with the *Celtiberians*, had before been ſucceſsful againſt *Me-tellus*, and now being reinforc'd with part of *Lepi-dus*'s Army, brought over by *Perpenna*, he deſign'd no leſs than the Invaſion of *Italy*. The Senate ap-prehenſive of this threatning Danger, ſent *Pompey* againſt him, who for his great Exploits in *Africk* and

Sicily

Sicily had already triumph'd, tho' ſcarce 26 Years of Age, and neither *Conſul* nor *Prætor*. *Pompey*, in imitation of *Hannibal*, paſs'd the *Alps*, tho' a contrary way, but with no Succeſs againſt *Sertorius* either then or in the next Spring: And tho' *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were ſeveral times worſted by *Metellus*, yet *Sertorius* by his extraordinary Management reduc'd *Pompey* to great Extremities, inſomuch that he was oblig'd to ſend to *Rome* for Supplies; which after he had receiv'd, he attack'd ſeveral Places ſubject to *Sertorius*, yet perform'd nothing of Conſequence this Year.

The following Year, *Pompey* and *Metellus* being much ſtrengthned, made Incurſions into ſeveral Parts and with more Succeſs than formerly; yet no conſiderable Battel was fought. And indeed there needed none, ſince *Sertorius* fell away inſenſibly, by diſobliging his chief Soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his Guard; but more eſpecially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauch'd, as well as cruel Temper, putting many to death with little Reaſon or Juſtice. And now *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his Lot to be deſtroy'd among the reſt, reſolv'd to prevent it, and thereupon inviting him to a ſumptuous Feaſt, firſt made him and his Companions very drunk, and then murder'd him; which was a very inglorious End for ſo great a Soldier, who had ſtoutly and bravely reſiſted all that had been ſent againſt him, and had been admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much difficulty obtain'd his Command from his Army, but not long after was overthrown in Battel, and taken Priſoner by *Pompey*. He offer'd to diſcloſe to *Pompey* in private ſome matters of the higheſt Conſequence, if he wou'd ſpare his Life; but *Pompey* with great Policy and Diſcretion, commanded him to be executed immediately, and all his Papers to be burnt, leſt his Accuſations ſhou'd bring the State into further Troubles, of which it had felt too ſeverely already. Thus ended all the

Civil

vil Wars, in the 680*th* Year of the City, 15 Years
er they firſt began, and 9 after it ended in *Italy*,
the Conſulſhip of *Terentius Varro* and *Caſſius Va-*
, the former being a Perſon of a wonderful Know-
lge, and one of the moſt learned Men that ever
me produc'd, in whoſe time Learning was in ma-
reſpects at the higheſt Pitch in the State.

II. But the Year before, a third War broke out *U. C.*
th *Mithridates*, who now had join'd himſelf 680.
th *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and gather'd together
Army of divers Countries, conſiſting of 140000
ot and 16000 Horſe, by which he in a ſhort time
ſſeſs'd himſelf of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* the
e King had given by his Will to the *Romans*. *Lu-*
ius Lucullus and *Aurelius Cotta* being Conſuls, the
rmer, a brave General, was ſent againſt *Mithri-*
es. He found the King before *Cyzicus* a City of
pontis, where he plac'd his Men with ſo much
ill, as to beſiege the Beſieger, and reduc'd *Mithri-*
es to ſuch Extremities, that thro' Famine he
s forc'd firſt to ſend away his Cavalry and ſick
en into *Bithynia*, whereof 15000 were intercept-
, and then to retire himſelf with the reſt that
uld eſcape the great Slaughter which the *Romans*
ade in the Flight. During the time of this double
ge, *Eumachus*, one of *Mithridates*'s Comman-
rs, made Inroades into *Phrygia*, ſubdu'd *Piſidia* and
uria, and endeavour'd to do the like to *Cilicia*,
he was repuls'd by *Deiotarus*, one of the Gover-
urs of *Galatia*. But *Lucullus* improv'd his Succeſs
Land by gaining many Victories at Sea, where
took ſeveral of *Mithridates*'s Commanders, and
ſely purſu'd the King himſelf. *Mithridates* flying
th more Speed than Diſcretion, had been caſt
ay, but that he was receiv'd into a *Pirate's* Veſſel,
which he was glad to commit himſelf in ſo great
Danger, and at length after many Difficulties
into his own Kingdom, whither *Lucullus* purſu'd
him,

him, having taken in all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia* his way; and this was his first Years Expedition.

Mithridates made all possible Preparations for Re sistance, sending to *Tigranes* and others for Aid; a within the space of a Year he got together 400 Foot and 4000 Horse, with which he once or tw gain'd some Advantage over the *Romans*, and str some Terror into the Soldiers. But *Lucullus* fou means to cut off most of his Cavalry, which w the loss of a Battel soon after so terrify'd him, t he quitted his Kingdom, and fled into *Armenia* *Tigranes*, who entertain'd him like a King, but r fus'd to admit him to his Presence. All *Pontus*, e cept a few Places, yielded to *Lucullus* in a short spac and *Machares* King of *Bosphorus*, sent this Genera Crown of Gold, by which he purchas'd the Title his Friend and Ally. This was the fourth Year his Expedition, in which Year also was happily nish'd the War with *Spartacus* the Gladiator in *It* This Person with seventy four of his Companions h ving broken out of their Fencing-School at *Capua*, fl away; and wandring through all the Country roun and vastly increasing in their Numbers, commenc a dangerous War in *Italy*. They at last had gathe together an Army of about 70000 Men, most Vag bonds and such kind of People, and all Pretende to *Liberty*, and had besides overthrown many of t *Roman* Commanders, and two of their Consuls; t at last they were conquer'd and dispers'd by *Licini Crassus* the Proconsul in *Apulia*, a Person of gre Nobility and Riches, and after many Troubles an Calamities in *Italy*, the War was ended in the thi Year by him. About the same time a *Lustrum* bei perform'd in *Rome*, 450000 Free Citizens we poll'd, the City still increasing in Bulk and Peopl and the Inhabitants in Learning and Politeness, well as Corruption and Factions.

U. C. 684. *Lucullus* having still the Management of the W against *Mithridates*, follow'd him into *Armenia*, sen

ng to *Tigranes* King of that Country, to demand im. *Tigranes* was a very powerful Monarch, having lately conquer'd ſeveral Nations and Kings, which made him ſo intolerably Proud, that when he ode abroad he would have four of his ſubdu'd Kings run by his ſide like Lacqueys, and when he at on his Throne, to ſtand before him with folded Hands in token of Subjection. *Tigranes* being now broad in reducing *Phœnicia*, *Lucullus*'s Meſſenger found opportunity to draw over many to his ſide, who had been much diſſatisfy'd at his proud and inſulting Carriage. *Tigranes* at his return refus'd to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewiſe to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a General, becauſe he had not given him the Title of *King of Kings*. Whereupon *Lucullus* ſuddenly paſs'd the River *Euphrates* with two Legions and about 3000 Horſe, which did not a little ſurprize *Tigranes*, who firſt hang'd the Meſſenger of the News as a Diſturber of the Peace, and ſoon after ſent *Mithrobarzanes* with 2000 Horſe to incommode his Paſſage, leaving *Mancæus* to cover the City *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, and went himſelf to levy Forces. While he was drawing together a vaſt Army of 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horſe againſt the *Romans*, *Mithrobarzanes* was repell'd, and *Mancæus* driven from the Cover of the City, and the Place immediately inveſted. *Mithridates* upon this, advis'd him not to hazard all in a Battel, but rather to ſtarve the *Romans*; but he ſlighted his Motion, and contemn'd the Smallneſs of their Numbers, ſaying, *That if the* Romans *were all Ambaſſadors, they were a great many, but if Soldiers, very few*; pretending to over-run 'em with great Facility. But *Lucullus* poſting himſelf upon a Hill, ſent his Cavalry to provoke and draw out the Enemy, ſo as he might break their Ranks, and then ſetting upon the Carriage Beaſts, ſo ſucceſsfully caus'd 'em to drive their Foot among their Horſe, that great Confuſion follow'd, and a dreadful Slaughter continu'd all the

day; and *Tigranocerta* was surrender'd by means of certain dissatisfy'd *Greeks* in the Place.

After these Defeats, another great Army was rais'd, and committed to the Conduct of *Mithridates*: They both endeavour'd to hem in *Lucullus*, but were disappointed in their Design by his extraordinary Vigilancy; and thus both sides continu'd with little Action, till want of Provisions constrain'd 'em to remove, *Tigranes* marching farther into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* not far behind him. *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, was overthrown by *Mithridates*, and after him *Triarius*, who imprudently engag'd with him, and lost 7000 of his Men. Soon after, *Mithridates* taking with him all the Necessaries he cou'd carry, and destroying the rest, march'd into the lesser *Armenia*. *Lucullus* wou'd gladly have follow'd him, and might have put an End to the War, but that now *Acilius Glabrio*, this Year's Consul, by *Glabinus* the *Tribune*'s Procurement, was appointed to carry it on in his Place. This being known in the Army, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Men, and *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* began to be more successful than formerly. In a short time, *Glabrio* arriv'd at his Province, and sent about to give notice, *That the Senate being displeas'd with* Lucullus *for prolonging the War, had disbanded his Army, and wou'd Confiscate the Estates of such as shou'd disobey its Order.* Upon which all his Army abandon'd him except some few poor Men, who had no great Cause to fear any loss of Estates; and *Lucullus* being out of his Command, *Mithridates* recover'd almost all his Kingdom, and did much Damage to *Cappadocia*, *Glabrio* not so much as coming to his Army, but lying idle in *Bithynia*. This hapned in the seventh Year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War.

U. C. 654. III. About this time, *Pompey* began to come into great Esteem among the *Romans*, having now a new Occasion

Occaſion of ſhewing his great Abilities in War, which was this: The Pirates, who had been firſt employ'd by *Mithridates*, finding their Profit ſo great, had now got together many Thouſands of ſeveral Nations, making choice of *Cilicia* for their Rendezvous; and ſeeing that the War continu'd, they thought it more Wiſdom to damnify others, than loſe their own Eſtates. They were now grown ſo Numerous and Powerful, that there was no ſecure paſſing the Seas, nor dwelling upon the Coaſts; for they not only took and robb'd Ships by Sea, but alſo whole Provinces on the Land. They had likewiſe defeated ſeveral *Roman Prætors*, and were grown ſo impudent, that they landed in *Italy* it ſelf, carry'd away ſeveral Women of Quality, and more than that, two Armies with their Enſigns. Theſe great Affronts very much enrag'd the People of *Rome*, and a Law was preferr'd by *Gabinius* the *Tribune*, *That ſome Perſon ſhou'd be created Admiral with full Power againſt the Pirates for three Years, who ſhou'd have large Forces and many Lieutenants.* This Law did not pleaſe the Senate, who now began to grow jealous of *Pompey*'s Power; for to him was the Affair committed, and he had full Power given him over all Perſons upon the Sea, and fifty Miles diſtant, whether Kings or others, to oblige them to aſſiſt him in his Enterprize. The Senate alſo permitted him to chuſe fifteen Lieutenants out of their Body, to take 200 Ships, and raiſe what Men he cou'd: But he obtain'd greater Advantage of the People, namely 500 Ships, 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, 6000 *Attick* Talents, and the Power of appointing 25 *Vicegerents* out of the Senate, and two *Queſtors*; ſo difficult it appear'd to deſtroy ſuch numerous Fleets as the *Pirates* had, in a Sea that had ſo many Places of Retreat and Refuge.

Pompey with great Skill and Judgment diſtributed his Lieutenants through the ſeveral Bays, Havens, Streights and Windings of the *Mediterranean* Sea, furniſhing

niſhing them with convenient Shipping and Forces; that ſo the Pirates being rouz'd out of their lurking Holes by ſome, might be receiv'd by others, and chas'd by the next, and none might be oblig'd to ſail too far. While he himſelf, like a King of ſo many Kings, ſail'd up and down, obſerving, viſiting, directing, inſtructing, and overſeeing with that ſingular Art and Diligence, that in forty Days he ſcour'd all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica* and *Sicily*; and all the Pirates that eſcap'd, flock'd to *Cilicia* as their common Receptacle. He ſoon follow'd 'em with 60 Galleys; and tho' they had prepar'd themſelves to give him Battel, yet upon the ſight of his Fleet, they ſubmitted to his Mercy; and ſo much had the Greatneſs of his Name terrify'd them, that in forty Days more he reduc'd *Cilicia* to the *Roman* Obedience. Such of theſe Pirates as remain'd, being above 20000, he was unwilling to kill, and to let 'em return to their old Habitations was not ſafe: Therefore he remov'd 'em to Places farther diſtant from the Sea, where he gave 'em Land and Houſes, furniſhing their Seats with new Inhabitants. Thus after the taking of nigh 400 Ships, and 120 Forts, and the killing of 10000 Men, he finiſh'd the War in three or four Months, uſing the Conquer'd with more Clemency than Q. *Metellus* did thoſe in *Crete*, which he ſubdu'd, and thereby obtain'd beſides a Triumph, the Surname of *Creticus*.

This Expedition ſtill added much to *Pompey*'s Reputation; and it was ſcarce at an End, when *Manilius* the *Tribune* preferr'd a Law, *That all the Armies the* Romans *had in any place, together with the Government of all* Aſia, *and the Management of the War againſt* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *might be committed to him alone.* This he did to curry favour with ſo great a Man as *Pompey*, whom he had diſpleas'd not long before, by a Law of his, which gave equal Privileges to freed Slaves with their Maſters that made 'em ſo. The

Nobility

Nobility were extreamly diſſatisfy'd at this new Law, not only for the manifeſt Injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*; by removing them from their Places, but alſo out of a high Jealouſy of *Pompey*'s growing Greatneſs, as being in a manner abſolute Monarch of the *Roman* Empire, by having theſe Provinces added to his former, with the ſame Power of Peace and War; and which was more than all the reſt, a Juriſdiction over all Armies whatſoever; which things had never before been conferr'd upon any one ſingle Perſon.

But the Commons were very hot for the Law, being much incited by *Cicero* the renown'd Orator, now *Prætor*, who in a Publick Aſſembly made a noble Oration in Commendation of *Pompey*, *ſhewing not only how very convenient it was for the Good of the Commonwealth to have a General with ſo large a Power; but likewiſe how abſolutely neceſſary it was to chuſe him above all other Men in the World, as being incomparably eminent for thoſe four great Accompliſhments requir'd in an abſolute Soldier, Conduct, Courage, Authority and Succeſs, which had all been abundantly apparent in thoſe numerous and wonderful Exploits he had already perform'd in ſo many Parts of the World.* This had ſo good an Effect, that when the Law came to the Scrutiny, it paſs'd with little Oppoſition; and C. *Julius Cæſar*, lately *Quæſtor*, is ſaid to have likewiſe favour'd it, chiefly with deſign, that afterwards the People might be the more inclin'd to commit the like extraordinary Power to himſelf.

Pompey having made what Preparations he thought convenient, in a ſhort time undertook his Expedition, in which he propos'd great Honour and Renown to himſelf. Yet he firſt ſent to *Mithridates*, offering him good and reaſonable Terms, which the other refus'd in expectation of the Aſſiſtance of *Phraates* King of *Parthia*; but hearing that a League was made between him and the *Romans*, he ſhortly after ſent to deſire a Peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down his Arms, and deliver up all Deſerters; which occaſioned

U. C. 688.

ned ſuch a dangerous Diſturbance and Mutiny in *Mithridates*'s Army, that he immediately receded, ſaying, *He only ſent to make an Eſpial*, and evading the Articles by ſwearing, *That he wou'd never be reconcil'd to the* Romans, *becauſe of their inſatiable Avarice. Pompey* marching into *Galatia*, there met with *Lucullus*, and a violent Conteſt was rais'd between 'em. The latter affirm'd the War to be already finiſh'd, and that the Commiſſioners from *Rome* were to decide it; and when *Pompey* wou'd not hearken to this, he upbraided him with an unjuſt Ambition, *Pompey* retorting the Charge of immoderate deſire of Gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* ſtill gave out Commands in his own Name, but *Pompey*, by his Edicts, forbad 'em, null'd all his Acts, and at laſt drew away the greater part of his Army. Yet *Lucullus* at his Return was receiv'd with great Honour by the Senate, carrying with him among his great Booty, many valuable Books, with which he furniſh'd a Library that always ſtood open, to *Greeks* eſpecially. He much advanc'd the *Roman* Luxury as to Buildings, Furniture of Houſes, and exceſſive Feaſts, and alſo was the firſt that brought the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Mithridates had now gather'd together a very conſiderable and numerous Army; and *Pompey* finding how he had waſted all the Country to hinder the ſubſiſtence of his Army, march'd into the leſſer *Armenia*, ſubject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might become Maſter of that Country, follow'd him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes to ſtarve him, but was diſappointed with conſiderable loſs, and to his great Surprize was ſurrounded by *Pompey* with an Intrenchment of above eighteen Miles Circuit. Whereupon hearing that *Marcius* was join'd *Pompey*, he betook himſelf to flight, having firſt kill'd all ſuch as were ſick and uſeleſs about him. But *Pompey* purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that before he cou'd paſs the River *Euphrates*, he forc'd him to an Engagement in the Night.

The

The Moon being very low, and on the Backs of the *Romans*, ſo lengthen'd their Shadows, that the Enemies thinking 'em nigher than really they were, ſhot moſt of their Arrows without doing Execution. Here *Mithridates* loſt many Thouſands of Men; but he himſelf broke through with 800 Horſe, of which only 300 ſtay'd with him. Then ſorrowfully wandring through the Woods with his Horſe in his hand, he accidentally met with ſome Mercenaries, and about 3000 Foot, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he was convey'd into a Caſtle where he had laid up much Treaſure. From hence he ſent to *Tigranes*, who now refus'd to receive him, alledging that his Son upon his Account had rebelled againſt him. Whereupon *Mithridates* fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquer'd, and *Pompey* follow'd him, thinking he wou'd not have ſtir'd thence; but he immediately paſs'd into *Scythia*, where partly by Force, and partly by Perſuaſions, he oblig'd the Princes of that Country to be of his Party, beſtowing his Daughters in Marriage upon ſome of 'em, having ſtill vaſt Deſigns in his Mind, even of paſſing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and ſo over the *Alps* into *Italy* it ſelf.

Pompey in a ſhort time left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the Ambuſcades, laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his March to *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*, who now reſolv'd not to fight, upon the account of the Rebellion of his three Sons he had by *Mithridates*'s Daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third after an Overthrow had fled to *Pompey*. *Tigranes*'s Ambaſſadors coming to deſire a Peace, this Son ſo far prevail'd, that they cou'd not be heard. Shortly after *Pompey* inveſted the City *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* immediately ſurrender'd, and ſhortly after came himſelf into *Pompey*'s Camp, making him Mediator between him and his Son, who wou'd not ſo much as ariſe up to his Father, or ſhew him any Reſpect whatſoever. But *Pompey* receiv'd

him with extraordinary Civility, allowing him the greateſt part of his former Dominions, and his Son the reſt; but took away all his Conqueſts, and fin'd him 6000 Talents of Silver for the Charge of the War. *Tigranes* was by theſe Articles oblig'd to quit many conquer'd Territories, particularly all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Euphrates* to the Sea; but his Son was ſtill very refractory, refuſing Obedience, and threatning the Death of his Father, for which he was ſhut up in Priſon by *Pompey*, and reſerv'd for a Triumph; and not long afterwards he was put to Death. *Tigranes* being now reconcil'd to the *Romans*, paid more than his Fine, and made Preſents to every Officer and Soldier, for which he was eſteem'd a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*. *Pompey* reſtor'd *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him alſo *Gordiena* and *Sophena*, with *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and other Places; after which with ſome oppoſition, he conſtrain'd the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace.

U. C. 689. Thus proſperous was this great Commander, who ſtill deſign'd larger and more glorious Conqueſts, and therefore paſſing over the vaſt Mount *Taurus*, he march'd againſt *Darius* the *Median*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, for moleſting the *Roman* Allies, or aſſiſting their Enemies. Whereupon *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, who had been call'd into *Gordiena* by *Tigranes*'s Son, terrify'd at his great Exploits, ſent to beg Peace of him, which he granted not, but ſent *Afraneus* into *Gordiena* to expel his Forces, and reſtore that Country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* upon this invading *Armenia*, *Tigranes* ſent to *Pompey* for Succour, who being unwilling to commence a War with *Phraates* without poſitive Orders from *Rome*, ſent three Commiſſioners to make an Accommodation. But for *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria* for his Inheritance, he firſt intended to betake himſelf to the Aſſiſtance of *Phraates*; but upon mature Deliberation, he reſolved to yield himſelf to *Pompey*'s Generoſity. But *Pompey* having

now

ow poſſeſs'd himſelf of all his Country without eſiſtance, refus'd to grant him what he expected, nd what he knew he was unable to keep from the ncurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both ſides of im. And the better to excuſe himſelf, told him, *hat ſince the* Romans *had been at ſuch Charges and Pains o conquer* Tigranes, *it wou'd be unreaſonable that the Re-ward ſhou'd fall to another.* Therefore he only allow'd him that Part of *Syria* call'd *Comagena*; and in a ſhort ime after, extending his Conqueſts farther over the *Ituræans* and *Arabians*, he reduc'd all *Syria* into a *Ro-man* Province.

The time that *Pompey* was proceeding in theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions, *Mithridates* ſent to him to deſire Peace; but being order'd to come to him himſelf, he refus'd it, and proceeded in his Prepa-rations for War: After which many of his Places revolted, and many of his Friends, with one of his Sons, were executed upon that account. Yet ſtill he deſign'd to paſs into *Europe*, there to join with the *Gauls*, and invade *Italy*; but the Unwillingneſs of his Soldiers to this difficult Expedition, and the rebellious Deſigns of his Son *Pharnaces*, caus'd his Army's Revolt and his Ruine, his Son being ſhort-ly after ſaluted King. *Mithridates*, now under Con-finement, ſeeing this from an Upper-room, ſent to his Son to ask leave to depart, but in vain, who bidding his Father *Die*, he cry'd out with many bitter Imprecations, *That he might one day hear the ſame Words from his own Children!* Then coming down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, he gave 'em all Poiſon, and fearing to be delivered up to the *Romans*, he took ſome himſelf; but having much us'd his Body to Antidotes, particularly to that ſort which ſtill goes by his Name, the Poiſon wou'd not operate, whereupon he wounded him-ſelf; but that not diſpatching him ſoon enough, he call'd to one *Bitæus* a *Gaul*, who got in through the broken Wall, and by his Hands he dy'd. Thus

fell

fell *Mithridates*, a Man, who ſometimes in Fortune and at all times in Courage, was of the higheſt Rank; in Direction a skillful Commander, in Execution a great Soldier, and in Hatred to the *Romans* a ſecond *Hannibal*, having made longer Oppoſition than he. And thus ended the *Mithridatick* War after twenty five Years, and eleven ſince it laſt broke out, a War, which in the beginning happen'd to be dangerous to the *Roman* State, as creating other Miſchiefs, but in the End prov'd very glorious and advantageous to it, by the addition not only of all *Mithridates*'s Dominions, but likewiſe of many other rich Countries in *Aſia*.

Pompey, when the News of *Mithridates*'s Death was brought to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, who had depos'd his elder Brother *Hyrcanus*, and uſurp'd his Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complain'd of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damaſcus*, who likewiſe came thither to vindicate himſelf. *Pompey* treated 'em both very civilly, promiſing 'em *to come into their Country, and ſettle matters between 'em, after he had diſpatch'd ſome other neceſſary Affairs.* Having therefore in a ſhort time ſettled the Affair of *Syria*, and reduc'd *Pontus* into a *Roman* Province, he return'd to *Judæa*, being much incens'd againſt *Ariſtobulus*. He firſt cited him to appear before him, and deliver up all his fortify'd Places, which he did with much Regret and Anger, withdrawing himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, to make Preparations for a War. *Pompey* ſuſpecting his Deſigns, immediately march'd after him, which *Ariſtobulus* underſtanding, went out to meet him; and tho' the City was enter'd without Oppoſition, his Soldiers fortify'd the Temple, and held it out againſt *Pompey*, which caus'd *Ariſtobulus* to be taken into cuſtody. The Temple being very ſtrong by Situation, made a vigorous Defence; but after three Months Siege, was with much difficulty and labour taken, and 12000 of the *Jews* cut in pieces, the

Prieſts

Prieſts not neglecting to offer Sacrifices all that time. *Pompey*, without any Fear, enter'd the *Holy of Holies* with many Followers, looking on thoſe things which were unlawful for any but the Prieſts to behold; however he ſhew'd ſo much Veneration for the Place, that he forbore touching any thing that was there. He reſtor'd *Hyrcanus* to his Prieſthood and Government, but with a Command never to wear a Diadem, and took *Ariſtobulus* with him, making all *Judæa* tributary to *Rome*. This hapned in the third Year of his Expedition, and 61 Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

IV. While *Pompey* thus proceeded in his noble Exploits abroad, *Rome* it ſelf was in great hazard, and very nigh its Ruin, occaſion'd by one of the moſt dangerous Conſpiracies that had been ever known in the City. It was begun and carry'd on by *Sergius Catiline*, a *Patritian* by Deſcent, but of a very profligate Life; a Perſon daring in his Attempts, crafty in his Deſigns, greedy of other Men's Properties, prodigal of his own; one who had been accus'd of debauching a *Veſtal* Virgin, and ſuſpected of murdering his Son for the Love of another Woman. This Perſon having contracted vaſt Debts by the Looſeneſs of his Life, grew deſperate, and ſought for nothing but Power and Authority, and, if it were poſſible, the Sovereignty over all; but his Deſigns being ſuſpected, he twice receiv'd a Repulſe in ſtanding for the Conſulſhip. This laſt time it was carry'd from him by *Cicero*, whom he therefore ſcurrilouſly abus'd as an Upſtart and Foreigner, as being but of the *Equeſtrian* Order, and born in *Apulia*, and offer'd to kill him in the *Comitia*. The miſſing of his Deſigns drove him into the utmoſt Rage and Fury, and brought him into that Plot, in which he had formerly been engag'd with *Piſo*, for the deſtruction of his Country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who before had miſs'd of the *Conſulſhip* for want of competent Bribes, alſo join'd

join'd with him, and afresh plotted the Ruin of the *Consuls* and *Senate*, the Burning of the City, and Overthrow of the State; as likewise did *Lentulus Cethegus*, and many other inferior Persons of debauch'd and infamous Lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both *Prætors*; and the latter, who formerly had been *Consul*, was mov'd to this Design by a vain Confidence he had in the *Sibylline* Oracles, which he said portended, *That the Soveraign Power should be in the hands of three* Cornelii, *namely*, Sylla, Cinna, *and Himself*.

This Conspiracy was carry'd on with the greatest Secresy imaginable, their Numbers daily increasing among which were several Women, who by prostituting themselves had been maintain'd after a prodigious rate; but afterwards decay of Beauty limiting their Gains, tho' not their Luxury, had greatly run them in debt. Notwithstanding all their care of concealing this horrid Design, it was discover'd by the means of *Q. Curius*, one of the Plotters, a degraded *Senator*, who neither cou'd contain the Secrets he had heard, nor the Crimes he had committed; but imprudently relating all to one *Fulvia* his Courtesan, she discover'd it to *Cicero*, who was now Consul. *Cicero* by examining of these two, found out the whole matter, how often, and where they met, and what Designs they had in hand, particularly his own Destruction to be brought about by *Vasgunteius* a *Senator*, and *Cornelius* a *Knight*, under Pretence of a friendly Visit. *Cicero* with great Diligence and Care appointed Guards in several Parts of the City, and immediately after call'd the Senate to the Temple of *Concord* to consult what was best to be done in this time of Danger. Great Rewards were promis'd to any who shou'd make any farther discovery of this black Conspiracy, and the whole City was in a great Consternation, all in a Hurry, all in a Fear, not knowing whom to trust, or where to be secure, either in War or Peace; but every one measuring his Danger by his Fears.

The

The Senate being now aſſembled, *Catiline*, to ew how well he cou'd diſſemble, or to juſtifie imſelf, went boldly thither; but none of the Se-ators wou'd come near him, the Place where he t being wholly void. Whereupon *Cicero*, either reading his Preſence, or incens'd at his Boldneſs, ood up, and made a ſevere invective Speech againſt im, openly manifeſting his Crimes, which were both umerous and notorious, and ſaying, *Did that moſt onourable Perſon* Scipio Naſica *ſlay his own Kinſman* Tib. Gracchus *for a ſlight Diſturbance of the City; and hall we, Conſuls, tamely ſuffer a Perſon endeavouring to ay the World deſolate with Slaughter and Deſtruction?* He farther commanded him to leave the Town, con-cluding with wiſhing Confuſion and Deſtruction to im and all his Accomplices. Upon his ſitting down, *Catiline*, well prepared with all manner of Artifice nd Diſſimulation, with a dejected Countenance, nd ſuppliant Tone, beſought the Fathers *not over-raſhly to credit vain Reports concerning him; nor to be-ieve that a Perſon of his Rank, whoſe own and whoſe Anceſtors Services had been ſo remarkably beneficial, ſtood in need of a ruin'd Common-wealth*; concluding with many ſcurrilous Reflections upon *Cicero*; which not being harkned to by the Senate, he left the Houſe in a great Rage, breathing out Ruin and Deſtru-ction to all his Enemies. He left the City late at Night with 300 arm'd Men, and *Lictors* with *Axes* and *Faſces* before him like a Magiſtrate, and retir'd into *Hetruria*, gathering together Soldiers all the way, intending to return to the City, which he had or-der'd *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to lay in Aſhes at an ap-pointed time.

In the mean time the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges*, now in Town, were alſo perſuaded to ſtir up the *Gauls* againſt the Commonwealth; but declaring their De-ſigns to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron, it came ſhortly to *Cicero*'s Ear, and ſo was prevented. The Day after *Catiline*'s departure, *Cicero* ſummon'd the People, and made

made a ſecond Oration to 'em, where he congratu-
ted the People and Commonwealth for being fre-
from ſo infamous a Perſon; and encourag'd 'em,
repreſenting the Forces of that Rebel as both ſm-
and inconſiderable. Upon this the Senate judg-
Catiline an Enemy to the State, and likewiſe *Manl-*
who had join'd him in *Hetruria*; *Lentulus* alſo w-
depriv'd of his Office of *Prætor*, by whom the Am-
baſſadors had been perſuaded over, who confeſs-
that they had often heard him make his Conjectur-
from the *Sibylline* Oracles. *Cicero* ſhortly after ſum-
mon'd the People again, and made another Oratio-
to 'em, wherein he reported the Particulars of th-
Diſcovery, with the Arraignment and Convictio-
of many of the Conſpirators, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Sta-*
tilius, *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others being now ſecur'd
Cicero call'd the Senate, and propounded to the Fa-
thers to conſider what was to be done with the Pri-
ſoners: But while the Senate was ſitting, great Di-
ſturbances aroſe in the City; for the Slaves and De-
pendents of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had gather'd toge-
ther a great Number of Artificers and Rabble, wh-
endeavour'd to break in upon the back-ſide of th-
Prætor's Houſe and reſcue the Priſoners. Upon no-
tice of this, *Cicero* left the Senate-houſe, and ap-
pointing a Watch and ſufficient Guards, return'd
asking the Opinions of the Senators.

Now a great Debate aroſe concerning the Puniſh-
ment of the Priſoners: *Silanus*, deſign'd Conſul for th-
next Year, being firſt ask'd his Opinion, according t-
Cuſtom, was for putting 'em to Death, as were ſe-
veral others, till *Nero* diſſuaded it, and *Julius Cæſa-*
ſtanding up, in a plauſible Speech pleaded much fo-
Mercy, and diſapprov'd of Death as an irregular wa-
of proceeding, ſpeaking to this effect: *If any Puni-*
ment might be found to equalize their Faults, then I ſhou-
approve your Deſign; but if the vaſtneſs of their Crim-
ſurpaſſes all our Inventions, we ought to make uſe of ſuch
the Law provides: Tho' I muſt confeſs that all the Torture-

World are inferior to their Offences; yet moſt Men ll remember what comes laſt, and in the Sufferings of moſt Impious, forget the Fact, and diſcourſe of nothing the Puniſhment, if more ſevere than ordinary: And ce the Porcian *Law only puniſhes Capital Offenders ith Exile, we ought not to bring in Innovations; for rtainly their Wiſdom and Virtue was greater, who rais'd vaſt an Empire from ſuch ſmall Beginnings, than ours ho can hardly preſerve what they ſo bravely won.* Cæſar's dvice was likely enough to have taken, till *Porcius* to, Grandſon to the great Moraliſt, ſtood up, nd with ſome Heat oppos'd him, ſaying, *That he d never pardon'd in himſelf the leaſt Error of his own oughts, and therefore cou'd not eaſily forgive the Miſde- eanors of a turbulent Paſſion and Ambition in others. That nong the antient* Romans, Manlius Torquatus *had us'd his own Son to be put to Death only for fighting the nemy contrary to his Command: And if that valiant uth was ſo ſeverely chaſtis'd for his over-haſty Courage, ll the preſent Generation heſitate what to decree againſt e moſt bloody of Parricides, and the greater Monſters of lankind.*

Cicero after theſe Speeches made one himſelf, which as his fourth upon this Occaſion, wherein he with a nning ſort of Mildneſs and Ambiguity inclin'd to to's ſide, telling them, *That his Earneſtneſs did not oceed from any Malice or Anger, but from a ſingular Ten- rneſs and Compaſſion: That they ought to conſider, that it as not* T. Gracchus, *who requir'd a ſecond Tribuneſhip,* r C. Gracchus, *who claim'd the Publick Lands, nor yet aturninus, who ſlew* Memmius, *that was to be call'd in eſtion; but Burners of the City, Murderers of the People, d Aſſiſtants of* Catiline *himſelf: And likewiſe that is Miſchief was already diffus'd over all* Italy, *and yond the* Alpes, *and therefore impoſſible to be cruſh'd ith Forbearance and Delays.* By *Cicero*'s Speech the nate was induc'd to put 'em all to Death, which e Conſul ſaw executed before the Houſe aroſe; ut Cæſar's Mildneſs and peculiar Management in this

this Affair, made ſeveral ſuſpect he himſelf had ſom hand in the Conſpiracy. As for *Catiline* himſel he was ſhortly after overtaken by *C. Antonius*, Cic *ro*'s Collegue, nigh the *Alpes*, as he was paſſing i to *Gaul* to compleat his Levies; where engagi moſt obſtinately he was ſlain, but his Men deſp rately fought it out to the laſt; and ſcarce any 'em remain'd to be taken, or were found out their Places when dead. Thus was this moſt dan gerous Conſpiracy quaſh'd, chiefly by the Vigilanc and Diligence of *Cicero* the *Conſul*. Publick Thank were given him for his great Care and Pains; an at the Inſtance of *Cato*, he was firſt of all othe ſtyl'd *Father of his Country*, and that with loud A clamations of the People, who ſaid, *That tho' inde they were indebted to ſeveral Commanders of that Ag for Riches, Spoils, and Power; yet it was to* Cice *alone that they ow'd the Safety and Security of all th Bleſſings.*

U. C. 692. V. After theſe Diſturbances were over, the Affai of *Rome* were in a much more quiet Poſture; b neither *Catiline*'s Defeat nor Death was ſufficient ſettle the City in a firm and laſting Peace, but ſtill ſ lay expos'd to the ſiniſter Deſigns which ſome mo ambitious Senators than the reſt were always form ing againſt her Liberty: Nor cou'd their Inclina ons of that kind meet with greater Temptations, ſinc the gaining of this only City muſt carry with it great a Part of the World. And now it was th *Cæſar* began to make a greater Appearance in *Ro* than ever, being this Year made *Prætor*. He had be fore gone through the two Offices of *Quæſtor* a *Ædile*, in the latter of which, by his Magnificence Shews and Buildings, he had acquitted himſelf w much Reputation, having alſo the advantage of be deſcended from one of the moſt Illuſtrious Fami in *Rome*. He afterwards ſtood for the *High-Pr hood*, and, by his great Liberality, carry'd it fro

of the moſt powerful Men in *Rome*, and his Seniors; and ſcarce any Man in the City was more remarkable, either for the Freeneſs of his Preſents, or the Largeneſs of his Bribes. He was now alſo arriv'd at a very high degree in Learning, as well as an admirable Skill in Eloquence, having already diſputed the Prize with the moſt famous Orators, and ſcarce any thing appear'd impoſſible for his great *Genius* to undertake. Little was perform'd by him during this time of his *Prætorſhip*, beſides compoſing ſome Diſturbances occaſion'd by one *Clodius*, a young Man of a Noble Family, but of a ſcandalous Life, who being in love with *Cæſar*'s Wife *Pompeia*, had in a Woman's Habit entered his Houſe in the time of a particular Feſtival, when only Women were permitted to be preſent. This brought *Clodius* into much Trouble and Danger, for Prophaning thoſe ſacred Inſtitutions, and caus'd *Cæſar* to put away his Wife privately; who being ask'd the Reaſon, ſaid, *He did not believe her guilty, but* Cæſar's *Wife ought to preſerve her ſelf from the Suſpicion, as well as the Guilt of the Crime.*

The Violent Heats, and the Parties, with the Factions and Diviſions, upon this and other Occaſions, ſufficiently ſhew'd, that the State was ready for a Change, and liable to become a Prey to Men of the greateſt Power and Ambition. This *Cæſar* well knew, and thought of nothing ſo much, as the Greatneſs of *Pompey*, and of ſurpaſſing, or at leaſt equalizing him in the Honour of his Exploits. Therefore upon the expiring of his *Prætorſhip*, he procur'd the Government of *Spain*; but having contracted extraordinary Debts by his too bountiful way of Living, he was retarded in his Journey by the Proſecution of his Creditors. Whereupon he was forc'd to apply himſelf to *Craſſus*, a Perſon of vaſt Riches, of great Wit and Eloquence, and of no contemptible Valour; who

being wrought upon by the Importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, one who no leſs lov'd *Cæſar*, than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became Security for 830 Talents. It was in this Government that *Cæſar* viewing the Statue of *Alexander* at *Gades*, wept to think, *That he had done nothing Great and Memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had conquer'd the World.* And he gave indeed ſufficient Marks of his Bravery and Deſire of Glory; for inſtead of ſuſpending his Time in bare Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he pierc'd with his Arms farther into the Country, ſubduing ſeveral Nations before untouch'd, and collected together ſo vaſt a Treaſure to himſelf, in the Name of the Commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*, whom he ſo juſtly admir'd.

Shortly after *Cæſar*'s Departure for *Spain*, *Pompey*, after a five Years Expedition, return'd to *Rome*, cover'd with Glories for his mighty Exploits, and great Conqueſts: He had, upon his arrival into *Italy*, ſent back his Troops, to prevent ſuch Suſpicions as might ariſe from his appearing at the Head of an Army, ſo that he obtain'd the Honour of a Triumph with a general Applauſe; and with ſo much more Splendor and Magnificence, in regard that he now triumph'd over another Third Part of the World, after his receiving the ſame Honour for the Conqueſt of Two Parts of it before. The Triumph laſted two Days, and yet they were much ſtreightned for time, and therein were expos'd the Names of 15 Conquer'd Kingdoms, and 800 Cities, with the Repeopling of 29, and 1000 Caſtles. Among the Priſoners led in Triumph, appear'd the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as alſo *Zozima*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himſelf, and *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judea*; the Siſter of King *Mithridates*, with her five Sons, and ſome Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewiſe the

Hoſtages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with thoſe of the King of *Comagena*; beſides a vaſt Number of Trophies, anſwering directly to each particular Battel wherein he was Conqueror. The Gold, Silver and Jewels that made up Part of this Publick Pomp, amounted to the Value of 20000 Talents, which is 3740000 Pounds of our Money: He made it appear by an Account plainly ſtated, That he had advanc'd and improv'd the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth 120000 Talents, being above one Third Part, by this Expedition, without mentioning thoſe large Sums he had diſtributed among his Men, whereof the meaneſt Soldier's Share was high Forty Pounds.

Pompey, tho' he had obtain'd vaſt Honour of the Senate, yet was much fear'd and hated by many, as appear'd by the great Oppoſition he met with ſhortly after, in his demanding a Confirmation of all that he had tranſacted in *Aſia*, and certain Lands for a Reward for his Soldiers: He had already prevail'd by his Credit in the Election of both the Conſuls, *Metellus Creticus* and *Afranius*, but in a ſhort time found himſelf miſtaken in his Choice: For *Afranius* being wholly given to his Pleaſure, never acquired much Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* cancell'd all former Obligations, upon the Account of the Diſgrace that was done to his Siſter *Mutia*, whom *Pompey* had put away upon Suſpicion of her too great Familiarity with *Cæſar*. *Cato*, on the other ſide, ſet all his Power againſt the Inteſts of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the like, dering, and obtaining of the Senate, that thoſe Decrees of his which *Pompey* had formerly repeal'd might be in Force, and that thoſe made in refeence to the Conquer'd Countries might be null'd, and withal ſtopp'd his intended Law for rewarding his Soldiers. *Pompey*, upon this Uſage, apply'd himſelf to the *Tribunes*, (which Office he and *Cæſar* had

reſtor'd after *Sylla* had put it down) one of whic by Name *Flavius*, propos'd the Law for the R ward of the Soldiers. *Metellus* the Conſul oppo it very ſharply, till the Conteſt ariſing even Blows and Bloodſhed, the *Tribune* caus'd *Metel* to be ſent to Priſon; and when the whole Bo of the Senate offer'd to make themſelves Priſone with him, *Flavius* plac'd his *Tribunal* at the Pr ſon-Door, and forbad 'em Entrance. Upon whi the Fathers caus'd the Walls to be broken dow in another place; and the Conſtancy of the S nate began to ſhake the Reſolution of the Peopl who always judg'd of Things by their outwar Appearances. This *Pompey* quickly perceiv'd, an deſir'd the *Tribunes* to accommodate the Matte pretending Commiſſion from *Metellus* for his doing; now too late repenting his inconſidera leaving his Army, and expoſing himſelf to his En mies Hatred.

At the ſame time *Cæſar* return'd from *Spai* the Election of new Conſuls being at hand *Cæſar* had good Intelligence of all theſe Diſtu bances, and the Reaſons of *Pompey's* Diſſatisfactio ſo that he now reſolv'd either to improve h own Authority with the Senate, or find a goo Opportunity of quitting their Intereſt: His Se vices in *Spain* had ſufficiently deſerv'd a Triump wherefore he deſir'd it of the Senate, declaring the ſame time his Deſign alſo of ſtanding for t *Conſulſhip*. Now theſe Deſires were inconſiſtent for the Law forbad Entrance into the City to an one who deſir'd a Triumph; and requir'd alſ that whoever ſu'd for the Conſulſhip, ſhou'd do in his proper Perſon. *Cæſar* therefore wrote to t Senate, deſiring that theſe Formalities might be d ſpens'd withal; but *Cato* ſtood up for the mai taining the Laws to their utmoſt Rigour, and h Opinion prevail'd; ſo that *Cæſar* choſe to decli his Triumph, and went to *Rome* and ſtood for t

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nſulſhip, which Honour he very eagerly pur-
d. And well underſtanding *Pompey*'s Credit, and
Quarrel to the Senate, this he thought a fit
njuncture to engage himſelf into his Intereſts.
mpey on the other ſide was no leſs pleas'd to gain
Man of ſuch extraordinary Merit, eſpecially
hen *Cæſar* promis'd him to confirm all his Acts,
he cou'd procure him to be elected; where-
on a cloſe Agreement was made between 'em.
ter this, *Cæſar* made it his Buſineſs to bring his
iend *Craſſus* into the League, who finding his
n Intereſt was weak ſeparately, was eaſily per-
aded to join with 'em, and a former Breach
tween him and *Pompey* was wholly accommodated.
heſe three made a firm Combination, or Conſpi-
cy, *That nothing ſhou'd be done in the Commonwealth
ainſt any of their Intereſts, or Approbations,* which
ey moſt ſolemnly confirm'd with mutual Oaths
d Promiſes. This was the firſt Great *Triumvirate*,
hich prov'd the Overthrow of the *Conſular* and
opular State, being a Combination of three of the
reateſt Men in *Rome*, either for Valour, Authori-
, or Riches, *Pompey* being then about 47 Years of
ge, and *Cæſar* 40.

Thus *Rome* loſt her Liberty, after ſhe had flou-
ſh'd many Years in a wonderful Grandeur, occa-
on'd wholly by the numerous Abuſes, and noto-
ious Corruptions in her Government and Inha-
itants, which ſhortly after plung'd her into greater
Miſeries than ever ſhe felt before. This remark-
ble Union happen'd in the 694*th* Year of the
City, *A. M.* 3945, in the Firſt Year of the 180*th*
Olympiad, 449 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Con-
ular State*, 330 ſince the Burning of *Rome* by the
Gauls, 270 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian*
Empire by *Alexander* the Great, 86 ſince the De-
ſtruction of *Carthage*, and 58 before our Saviour's
Nativity, the *Roman* Dominions containing now

all *Italy*, all *Ciſalpine-Gaul*, and Part of the other all *Spain* and *Africk*, all *Greece* and *Illyricum*, a the Kingdoms in *Aſia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, *Syria* and *Judæa*, and many Iſland beſides.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK III.

The Mix'd State of ROME, *from the Beginning of the Firſt Triumvirate, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire.*

Containing the ſpace of 33 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Beginning of the Firſt Triumvirate, *to the Death of* Craſſus, *one of the Combination; which broke, and divided that Party.*

Containing the Space of 7 Years.

I. THE Senate of *Rome* was now arriv'd to an extraordinary Height, whether we conſider the Extent and Fruitfulneſs of its Dominions, the Strength and Power of its Arms, the Fame and Valour of its Commanders, the Abundance and Largeneſs of its Revenues, the Compaſs and Magnificence of its City, and the Numbers and Riches, as well as Learning and Politeneſs of its Inhabitants; but ſtill it wanted conſiderably

U. C. 694. The Firſt *Triumvirate.*

of that Glory and Grandeur, as to Dominions, and much more of that Quiet and Serenenes as to Settlement, it had not long after in *Auguſtus*'s Reign. For now the State was full of Factions and Diviſions, Briberies and Corruptions, and likewiſe Feuds and Jealouſies, ſince the joining of three ſuch potent Men as *Cæſar*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, which caus'd many to fear the Downfall of their ancient Liberties; and that their Fears were not groundleſs, ſufficiently appear'd by the Event. The firſt Effect of this *Triumvirate* was the promoting of *Cæſar* to the Conſulſhip, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* employing all their Intereſt therein: He had two Competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*; the former a covetous, tho' rich Man, was taken off by large Promiſes, and brib'd to procure what Voices he cou'd for *Cæſar*. The Senators, reſolving to have *Bibulus* one of the Conſuls, made great Collections among themſelves, and gave as much on their ſide. Even *Cato*, as rigid as he was, was perſuaded that the Law which forbad all manner of Bribery on theſe Occaſions, ought, in ſuch a caſe, to be diſpenc'd withal, when the Intereſt of the Common-wealth ſo much requir'd it; ſo by that means *Bibulus* was at laſt choſen Conſul with *Cæſar*.

U. C. 695. The firſt thing *Cæſar* did in this Office, was his Confirming all *Pompey*'s Acts, according to Agreement, and from that time he wholly apply'd himſelf to gain the Favour of the Commons: And the better to effect it, he preferr'd a Law for dividing certain Lands in *Campania*, among ſuch of the poor Citizens as had three Children or more. This Propoſal much pleas'd the Commons, and *Cæſar* had taken the moſt proper Methods to make it paſs; for the Law was drawn up in Terms ſo very juſt and reaſonable, that no Man cou'd find fault with it. He declar'd to the Senators, *That he wou'd do nothing without their Authority, nor propoſe any of his Friends for Commiſſioners, or any Man who might be liable to Suſpicion; but that they ſhou'd be all*

Perſons

rſons of known Reputation and Abilities. This plauſi-
e and cautious way of proceeding, hardly left any
om for Contradiction; but ſtill the Senate, that
ey might hinder the Law, and yet not ſeem to
ppoſe it, adjourn'd the Affair from Day to Day:
ill at laſt *Cato* plainly and publickly declar'd, *That*
eſe Changes in State were not to be permitted; after
hom all the Senate likewiſe declared themſelves to
e of the ſame Opinion. Whereupon *Cæſar* imme-
ately had recourſe to the People, much complain-
g to them of the Injuſtice and Stubbornneſs of the
enate, taking alſo *Pompey* and *Craſſus* along with
m, whoſe Opinions he publickly ask'd concerning
is Law. They both approv'd of it; and *Pompey*
rther declar'd, *That if ſuch as oppos'd it ſhou'd come with*
eir Swords in their Hands, he wou'd meet their Swords,
d bring a Buckler with him beſides: Whereupon a Day
as appointed for the Publication of this Law.

At the appointed Day, the People gather'd toge-
er in great Numbers, and in ſpight of all Oppoſi-
on, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himſelf with Stones and
Clubs from off the Place; the *Conſuls* Axes were bro-
en in pieces, and the People approving the Ordi-
ance, declar'd they wou'd have all the Senators
wear to the Obſervation of it. Almoſt all took this
Oath, except *Cato*, *Metellus*, and *Favonius*, and they
oo, at laſt, after much Oppoſition, took it, to ſave
heir Fines, and likewiſe their Lives: For *Cæſar* had
aus'd the People to make it Capital for any one to
efuſe it. *Cæſar* made little uſe of the Senate after
hat, and from that time his Collegue *Bibulus* never
urſt appear in Publick, but kept himſelf at home for
he remaining part of the Year. This forceable way
f proceeding extremely alarm'd the Senate, every
body laughing at their Idleneſs and Negligence; and
t the Head of thoſe Acts, where the Names of the
Conſuls us'd to be inſcrib'd, ſome unknown Perſon,
nſtead of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Caius Cæſar* and
Julius Cæſar, to ſhew that *Cæſar* govern'd alone.

Cæſar

Cæsar having freed himself from his Collegue, beg
chiefly to apply himself to the *Equites* or *Knights*, w
much courted him; and having Farm'd the C
stoms, desir'd an Abatement of the Rent. The S
nate refus'd to remit any thing, but he shortly af
procur'd the People to abate a Third Part. By t
and other ways of gratifying the Common Sort,
persuaded 'em to decree the Province of *Gaul* to h
for five Years, with four Legions; for he desir'd n
thing so much as performing great Exploits; and t
remaining Part of the Year he spent in endeavo
ring to establish his Interest for the time to com
Therefore knowing how considerable a Person *Pom*
pey was, to bind him the more strongly, he ga
him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, a very virtuo
and beautiful Lady. He likewise took care that h
two Friends *Gabinius* and *Piso*, shou'd be prick'd fo
the following Year's Consuls; the latter of which ha
lately given him his Daughter *Calpurnia*. *Clodius* h
procur'd to be one of the *Tribunes*, notwithstandin
his former Affront, because he knew him to be a
Enemy to *Cicero*, whose Oration against *Cæsar*, i
pleading for *C. Antonius*, had gain'd him the Hatred o
the *Triumvirate*. And having setled Affairs thus, an
finish'd his *Consulship*, he departed for *Gaul*, with som
Precipitation, in regard he was threaten'd to be call'
to account for his Conduct in his *Consulship*; and tho
some of the *Tribunes* prevented his Publick Censure
they cou'd not secure his *Quæstor* from Condemnation.

In *Cæsar*'s absence, *Pompey* and *Crassus* were not idle
and the former had fill'd the City with Soldiers; and
since both the Consuls were of that Party, the Senate'
Authority was much weaken'd. But *Clodius* bestirr'd
himself more than any; a Man so ambitious of the
Tribuneship, that he procur'd himself to be adopted by
Plebeian, because he was uncapable of holding of it be
fore. *Cicero* immediately perceiv'd that his Ruin wa
aim'd at; and his chiefest Hope was in *Pompey*, who
had always shewn himself his Friend; but *Pompey* had
now

now ſacrific'd all to the Intereſts of *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*, and had lately been extreamly offended with *Cicero* for his eternal Itch he had to be Jeſting. *Pompey* nevertheleſs aſſur'd him of his Protection, and *Cæſar* had offer'd to make him his Lieutenant in his *Gallick* Expedition, to which Imployment he had a ſtrong inclination; but *Pompey* adviſ'd him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found ſome Artifice to delude him with falſe Hopes of Reconciliation, that he might be confounded and born down, before he was ſufficiently ſenſible of his Danger. In ſhort, all the World conſpir'd to deceive him; and that Piercing Judgment and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion he us'd ſo much to value himſelf upon, which became altogether unſerviceable to him now, and he cou'd find no way to avoid the Blow when it came. *Clodius*, by his diſtributions of Corn among the Poor, daily grew higher in the Favour of the People, and afterwards preferr'd a Law to forbid Water and Fire to any who had put to death any *Roman* Citizen unheard, which amounted to as much as Baniſhment.

Now all Perſons ſaw the Danger which threatned *Cicero*; all his former Conſtancy forſook him, and he went up and down the City, ſoliciting his Cauſe, in Mourning Robes, long Beard, and unregarded Hair, attended by 20000 *Equites*, ſupplicating in his behalf, beſides many young Noble Men, whom he had taught the Rules of Eloquence, among which were the very Sons of *Craſſus*. But *Clodius* ſtill follow'd with a Party of Soldiers, inſulting and jearing him with the Poorneſs of his Spirit, till they almoſt came to throwing of Stones at each other. But the Reſpect to the *Sacroſanct* Office hinder'd *Cicero*'s ſide from returning the Injuries; yet nevertheleſs the *Senators* deſign'd to order a General Mourning, but the Conſuls ſtop'd that Debate, and *Clodius* ſummon'd 'em all to appear before the People, where *Piſo* only ſaid, *He took no delight in Cruelty*, but *Gabinius* immediately condemn'd what *Cicero* had done as to *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. *Cicero*'s

cero's last Retreat was *Pompey*'s Favour, who was able enough to have done him Service, but he wou'd have nothing to do in the matter; and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cause to him, he slipt out at a Back-door to avoid seeing him. He found himself now reduc'd to the last necessity of taking up Arms for his Defence, which he might have done successfully enough; but not being able to bear the Blood-shed of his Country-men, he resolv'd upon the Advice of *Cato*, and the rest of his Friends, to withdraw himself: So he left *Rome* in the Night-time, and went to *Sicily*. After his Retreat, *Clodius* caus'd him to be banish'd by the Votes of the People 400 Miles from *Italy*, demolishing his Villages and his House, on the Plot whereon he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his Goods to sale. *Cato* was shortly after by *Clodius*'s means sent away, under Pretence of doing him Honour, against *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*; *Lucullus* had retir'd himself from the City, and *Crassus* minded only his private Affairs: So that now the greatest part of the Government of the City seem'd to lie between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

U. C. 696. II. During these Transactions in the City, *Cæsar* was extraordinary busy and diligent in his Expedition, by which he propos'd vast Ends and Advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but the other also, which comprehended all that space of Land which is now call'*d France*, with a great Part of the *Low-Countries*, and some of *Germany*. His first Enterprize was against the *Helvetians*, who had wholly abandon'd their Country, burnt down their Towns and Houses, destroy'd their Provisions, and were marching into *Gaul* through his Province, to the number of above 300000 of all sorts. *Cæsar* upon Intelligence of this, hasten'd to *Geneva*, and broke down the Bridge there; which caus'd 'em to send to him, and desire to pass that way without Molestation. But *Cæsar* resolving not to grant

rant 'em Paſſage, delay'd Anſwering till he cou'd gather all his Troops together, in which ſpace he threw up a large Intrenchment from the Lake of *Geneva*, to Mount *Jura*, 19 Miles long, which forc'd em to turn aſide, and enter *Gaul* by the way of *Sequania*. *Cæſar* follow'd them with great Diligence, and defeating a conſiderable Party of 'em, they ſent a ſecond time to deſire a Treaty; but that breaking off, upon the account of great Demands on both ſides, 4000 of *Cæſar*'s Cavalry were repuls'd by preſſing too forward upon 'em. But they dearly paid for this Advantage, for *Cæſar* after obſerving their Motions a-while, eaſily drew 'em to a general Battel, wherein they were intirely defeated, and not above 110000 remain'd of their whole Number, their Wives and Children deſperately fighting among the Carriages, till they were cut in pieces. *Cæſar* crown'd his Victory with a more glorious Action, by gathering all who had eſcap'd, and ſending of 'em all in ſafety into their own Countries.

Cæſar reſolving not to continue without Action while the Seaſon permitted, immediately turn'd his Forces againſt *Arioviſtus*, King of the *Germans*, who had ſeiz'd on the beſt Part of *Sequania*, and uſed the Inhabitants with intolerable Severities and Oppreſſions. The *Sequanians* being *Roman* Allies, humbly begg'd Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar* as a Man of undoubted Renown and Valour, who firſt ſent to *Arioviſtus* without Succeſs, and at laſt came to a perſonal Enterview, where *Arioviſtus*'s haughty Language, and the Treachery of ſome of his Troops, brought both Armies to a Battel ſhortly after. Upon the nigh Approach of *Cæſar*, *Arioviſtus* was much diſheartn'd; for ſeeing the *Romans* come fearleſly to engage the *Germans*, whom he imagin'd they cou'd never withſtand, it was ſo unexpected a thing, that he admir'd at *Cæſar*'s Courage, and found his own Army ſeiz'd with a kind of Conſternation. But what added moſt to their Fears, was a ſuperſtitious Fancy rais'd by their Augurs;

gurs; which when *Cæsar* understood, he immediately attack'd 'em even in their Trenches, and upon the Hill where they were posted, till he so provok'd 'em that they came down with great Fury to the Engagement. But they were all put to the rout, and he closely pursu'd 'em for several Miles together, as far as the River *Rhine*, covering all the way with Spoils and dead Bodies, to the number of 80000, as some relate it. *Arioviſtus* himself escap'd in a little Boat with a small Retinue, two of his Wives and as many Daughters being taken Prisoners by *Cæsar*. These two great Wars were dispatch'd by *Cæsar* in his first Year's Expedition, which he manag'd with extraordinary Skill and Dexterity.

In the beginning of the next Spring, *Cæsar* was alarm'd by a great Confederacy against the *Romans* of all the *Belgæ*, who inhabited a Third Part of *Gaul*, and were esteem'd the most powerful People in the whole Country. He hearing that they had rais'd above 280000 Men, directed his March to 'em with all speed; and bravely attacking 'em, just as they were plundering his Allies, the *Gauls* he defeated, and put to flight a mighty number of 'em; insomuch that the Marshes and deep Rivers became passable to the *Romans* by the prodigious Number of the dead Bodies, as *Plutarch* relates it. But among several Revolters, all that liv'd nigh the Ocean, yielded without Fighting; wherefore he led his Army against the *Nervians*, the most savage and war-like People in those Parts. These inhabited a thick wooddy Country, where bestowing their Children and all their Goods in some close and convenient place in their Forest, they set upon *Cæsar* with 60000 Men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp himself. They fell on with such uncommon Fury, that they broke the *Roman* Cavalry, then surrounding the twelfth and seventh Legions, they kill'd all the Officers; and if *Cæsar* himself had not hastily catch'd up a Buckler and rush'd through his Men into the midst of the Enemy,

y, and his tenth Legion run in to his Assistance, d broke the Enemies Ranks, they had been all cut f. But tho' by the Encouragement of *Cæsar*'s traordinary Valour, they fought beyond their rength, yet all they cou'd do was not sufficient to ake the *Nervians* fly, who obstinately stood their ound till they were all cut in pieces, not a Thou-nd of them being sav'd. This was *Cæsar*'s second ear's Expedition, and the Renown of his Victories ade him formidable even in *Germany*, so that seve-l Nations beyond the *Rhine* sent and submitted them-lves to him.

Upon the News of *Cæsar*'s last Exploits at *Rome*, e Senate decreed a solemn Festival for 15 Days, hich was a greater Honour than any had receiv'd be-re him. Not long before which, violent Stirs and ommotions had been rais'd in the City upon the count of *Clodius*, who, after he had freed himself om his Enemies, began to prove an intolerable Plague d Vexation to many of the Nobility, and even to *mpey* himself; so that now he found it very much r his Interest to get *Cicero* recall'd from his Banish-ent. Whereupon he employ'd *Milo*, one of the *Tri-nes*, and of great Courage, for that purpose; and ing his Interest with many others, the matter was at st propounded to the Senate, where it was generally reed to. But *Clodius* oppos'd it with the utmost Vio-nce; and when the matter was propos'd to the Body the People, and promoted as much as possible by *lo* and his Collegue, *Sextius Clodius*, assisted by a Par-of Gladiators, suddenly set upon the Multitude, ising the greatest Disorders imaginable: Many of e People were kill'd, the *Tribunes* were wounded, and *uintus*, *Cicero*'s Brother, was almost overwhelm'd with ead Bodies, and the rest all fled. After a day or two, *lo* seiz'd upon *Clodius*, and carry'd him before the *ætor*: Whereupon a great Contest arose, and *Clo-us*'s Party, by the Assistance of *Pompey*'s Gladiators, ter some Blood-shed were beaten off. *Pompey* im-

mediately

mediately poſſeſſing himſelf of the *Forum*, put the Pe-
ple upon giving their Suffrages, who with univer
Conſent and Applauſe voted *Cicero*'s Reſtitution. T
Senate likewiſe decreed Honours to ſuch Cities
had entertain'd him, and that his Houſe and Villa
ſhould be rebuilt at the Publick Charge. So Cic
after 16 Months Baniſhment, return'd in great Po
and Glory, ſufficiently revenging himſelf upon P
Gabinius, and others, by his Writings afterwards.
return'd in the ſecond Year of *Cæſar*'s Wars in *Gaul*.

The following Year, *Cæſar* deſigning for *Italy* hi
ſelf, ſent out *Servius Galba*, one of his Lieutenan
with the twelfth Legion and part of the Cavalry,
gainſt the *Antuates*, *Veragres*, and *Seduni*, Nations ſeat
from the River *Rhoſne*, as high as the *Alps*, in ord
to clear a Paſſage, and ſecure all manner of Traffi
in thoſe Parts. *Galba* in a ſhort time defeated a ve
great Party, who had been ſo bold as to attack hi
in his Camp. *Cæſar* not long after returning, fou
that the *Veneti*, and ſeveral other Nations of that P
of *Gaul* call'd *Celtica*, had revolted, he turn'd a gre
Part of his Force againſt them: And theſe cau
him extraordinary Trouble and many Difficulti
by reaſon of their Naval Strength, by which mea
they continually ſhifted themſelves, and remov
from Place to Place. But at laſt *Cæſar* having pr
cur'd a Fleet, attack'd the *Veneti* at Sea, and the
overthrew 'em; *Craſſus*, one of his Lieutenants, t
mean time ſubdu'd the *Sontiates*, with the greate
Part of *Aquitain*, as *Sabinus*, another of 'em, d
the *Unelli*, and all the Maritime Parts. Towar
the latter end of the Campaign, *Cæſar* march'd
gainſt the *Morini*, a People nigh *Calais*, and the *M*
napii alſo, which two Nations were ſtill up in Arm
But the Seaſon being too far advanc'd, the Rains an
foul Weather ſecur'd 'em in the Foreſts and Marſhe
and caus'd *Cæſar* to put his Men all into their Win
Quarters, which ended his third Years Expediti
in *Gaul*.

III. A

III. As *Cæsar*'s Conquests establish'd his Reputa- *U. C.*
on in *Rome*, so his Humanity, and other excellent 698.
ualities, absolutely gain'd him the Hearts and Affe-
ions of his Soldiers. He had now got great store of
ealth, by which he not only discharg'd his Debts,
t likewise made many great Friends by his Mag-
ficent Presents, especially to the Ladies, corrupt-
g also the *Ædiles*, *Prætors* and *Consuls* themselves.
this Winter he pass'd into *Italy* to *Luca*, where
took up his Head-Quarters, where there was so
eat a Concourse of People to pay him their Re-
ects, that 200 Senators were present together, and so
any *Prætors* and *Proconsuls*, that 120 Bundles of Rods
ere seen there at a time. Here the *Triumvirate* took
w Measures, and *Cæsar* fearing he might be recall'd
om *Gaul*, procur'd *Pompey* and *Crassus* to endeavour
the Consulship the following Year, and so conti-
ue him in his Employment for five Years longer. This
esign was so displeasing to the Senate, and the Dis-
ntions so violent concerning it, that they went into
ourning as in Publick Calamities; saying, *That*
e Proceedings of the Triumvirate *were dangerous to the*
uiet and Liberty of Rome. *Cato* with great Eager-
ess set up *Domitius* to stand against 'em; but *Pompey*
solving to remove all Obstacles, sent some arm'd
en against *Domitius* as he was going to the Election,
ho kill'd the Slave that carry'd the Light before
m, and dispers'd all their Company, *Cato* himself
eceiving a Wound on the Arm, and *Domitius* hard-
y escaping: And thus by Force and Violence both
ompey and *Crassus* obtain'd the Consulship. The
eople shortly after being ready to give *Cato* the
rætorship, *Pompey* pretended strange Prodigies in
eaven, and dismiss'd the Assembly: Then cor-
upting the *Tribes* with Money, he procur'd 'em to
huse *Antias* and *Vatinius*, *Prætors*. Then by the assi-
tance of *Trebonius* the *Tribune*, the Consuls procur'd
Laws which continu'd *Cæsar* in his Government in
aul for five Years longer, and assign'd *Syria* and the

Parthian War to *Craſſus*, and *Africk* and *Spain* to Pompey, with four Legions, whereof he lent two to Cæſar for the *Gallick* Wars.

U. C. 699. *Cæſar* was now proceeding in his fourth Years Expedition, which was employ'd againſt ſeveral Nations of *Germany*, who, to the number of 430000 all ſorts, being driven out of their own Country by the *Suevi*, the moſt powerful of all the *Germans*, had paſs'd the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and forc'd the Menapi from their Habitations. *Cæſar* well knowing the levity of the *Gauls*, and their readineſs to caſt off their Yoke, reſolv'd to hinder the *Germans* ſetling on this ſide of the *Rhine*. And perceiving that the Gauls had begun to treat with 'em, he diſſembl'd it, and anticipating the uſual time of taking the Field, he march'd directly to the *Germans*, who being amaz'd at his extraordinary Diligence, ſent Ambaſſadors to him concerning a Treaty. He gave them a patient Hearing and favourable Anſwers, but ſtill continu'd his March towards 'em. At laſt the Articles were agreed upon, provided *Cæſar* wou'd ſtay three Days but he wou'd allow 'em but one; during which time his Cavalry going out to forage, met with a Party of *German* Horſe, who fell furiouſly upon 'em, and put 'em to flight, purſuing 'em to their very Camp. The *Germans* ſending their principal Officers the next Day to excuſe the Fact, *Cæſar* detain'd 'em Priſoners, and advancing with his whole Army towards the Enemy, ſurpriz'd 'em, and cut 'em all in pieces; after which, with great Skill and Induſtry he laid a Bridge over the *Rhine*, march'd into *Germany*, reliev'd the *Ubii*, granted a Peace to ſuch as were willing to depoſe Hoſtages, burnt and deſtroy'd the reſt, and at the end of 18 Days return'd into *Gaul*, breaking down the Bridge behind him.

Cæſar finding he had time this Year to undertake a new Expedition, and led on by the Greatneſs of his Courage, and his Deſire of Glory, reſolv'd to croſs the Seas into *Britain*; an Enterprize ſo very hazardous, that few

few but *Cæſar* wou'd have ventur'd upon it. His Pretence was the *Britains* ſending continual Supplies into *Gaul* againſt the *Romans*; and in order to his Deſign, he made ſtrict Enquiries of the Merchants that traded thither, what kind of People they were, how they made War, under what Laws they liv'd, and which were their beſt Ports. After which he ſent *Voluſeus* to view the Coaſts, in the mean time ſending for the Ships he had employ'd againſt the *Veneti*, and making all other neceſſary Preparations. Upon the News of which, ſeveral of the *Britiſh* People ſent their Ambaſſadors with Tokens of Submiſſion, whom he ſent back with good Words, and with them *Cornio*, the better to diſcover the Country under that Pretence. But *Cornio*, not daring to truſt the Inhabitants, continu'd but five days upon the Coaſts, and then return'd to make report of what he had diſcover'd. *Cæſar* leaving all things in *Gaul* in a peaceable Poſture, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the Ports, put to Sea with two Legions and Part of his Cavalry after Mid-night, and made the *Britiſh* Coaſts the next Morning, where he found the Shores cover'd with Men to oppoſe his landing; and finding it impracticable there, he ſail'd eight Miles further. There the *Romans* met with great Oppoſition, and were in danger of being driven back, till the Standard-Bearer of the Tenth Legion boldly leap'd a-ſhore; and being well ſupported by *Cæſar*'s Diligence, all the Army landed, and the *Britains* fled.

The *Britains* were ſo terrify'd at the *Romans* Succeſs, that they ſent to deſire a Peace, which was granted them, and ſome Hoſtages deliver'd. But a great Storm ariſing at that time, miſerably ſhatter'd the Tranſport-ſhips lying at Anchor; and this, with *Cæſar*'s want of Proviſions, ſo encourag'd the *Britains*, that inſtead of ſending him the reſt of their Hoſtages, they march'd with a powerful Army againſt him; who meeting with one of the Legions abroad, had almoſt defeated 'em, but *Cæſar* came in with timely Aſſi-

Assistance, and brought 'em off safely. In these Extremities *Cæsar* lost no time in refitting his Ships, procuring of Provisions, and securing his Camp; and being afresh attack'd by the *Britains*, he overthrew 'em, and burnt many of their Towns, which oblig'd 'em again to desire a Peace. Upon which he requir'd a double number of Hostages, and finding the Season far-advanc'd, he again put to Sea, and return'd to *Gaul*, where he safely landed, only two Ships that had on board 300 Men, landing a little lower, were set upon by the *Morini*, who not long before had been reconcil'd to *Cæsar*. They were soon reliev'd, and *Labienus* was sent to chastize the Revolters; who being reduc'd, he and *Cotta* harrass'd the Country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themselves in the Woods. After which the *Roman* Army was sent to their Winter-Quarters in *Belgium*, which finish'd *Cæsar*'s fourth Year's Expedition.

Cæsar being very ambitious of enlarging the *Roman* Dominions, as well as encreasing his own Reputation, resolv'd upon a second Expedition into *Britain* the next Spring, and made all neceffary Preparations for it, the Natives having given him a fair Pretence by breaking their Articles with him. At the appointed time he embark'd with five Legions and 2000 Horse at *Iccius* or *Calais*, and landed in *Britain* without Opposition, where he shortly after forc'd one of their Camps with good Success. About which time News was brought him that his whole Navy was extreamly indamag'd with a Storm, and some of his Ships lost; which made him retire back towards the Sea-coast, where with vast Labour and Industry, he repair'd most of 'em in ten Days time, and wrote to *Labienus* to build more. After that he march'd against *Cassivelaun* the General of all the *British* Forces, and after several Motions, and a bloody Battel, defeated him, which so terrify'd the Enemy, that they dared not appear in any Body against him after that. Whereupon *Cæsar* advanc'd still further, and

pass'd

paſs'd the *Thames* in ſpight of all Oppoſition, his Men wading up to the Neck in the Water. *Caſſivelaun*, notwithſtanding his reputed Valour, kept himſelf to the Woods and Foreſts; and finding that ſeveral Towns were ſurrender'd to *Cæſar*, and particularly his own, he alſo ſent to him for a Treaty, who receiv'd his Submiſſion, took Hoſtages, and impos'd a certain Tribute upon *Britain*: Then finding the Seaſon far advanc'd, and apprehending the Danger of ſome Tumults in *Gaul*, he croſs'd the Sea again, bringing back his Army with much Glory and Renown; where with appeaſing ſome Diſturbances in thoſe Parts, and relieving *Q. Cicero*, Brother to the Orator, and one of his Lieutenants, who was beſieg'd by the *Eburones*, he finiſh'd his fifth Year's Expedition.

The next Year *Cæſar* perceiv'd that many of the States of *Gaul* were diſpos'd to a general Inſurrection, in a great meaſure, upon the account of an imperfect Settlement of Affairs the laſt Year; whereupon he reinforc'd his Army with three *Roman* Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he could well procure. He purſu'd his Buſineſs with great Vigour, and open'd the Campaign ſooner than ordinary, thereby to break, or at leaſt to weaken their Union. He ſoon ſubdu'd and reduc'd ſeveral Nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Nervii* firſt, and ſhortly after the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and the *Menapians*; while his Lieutenant *Labienus* reduc'd all the People about *Triers*. After this he built a Bridge and paſs'd the *Rhine* a ſecond time, by reaſon that ſeveral of the *Germans* had enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Gauls*; where after he had made ſome Attempts upon the *Suevi* with little Succeſs, upon the account of their flying into Woods and impaſſable Places, he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their Territories, the *Sigambri* croſſing the *Rhine* ſuddenly, ſet upon *Cicero*'s Camp, kill'd many, and caus'd a great Conſternation among his Men, but at laſt were forc'd to retire at the News of *Cæſar*'s Approach,

proach, who after that fell afreſh upon the Country of the *Eburones*; then call'd a Council in *Gaul* for the Puniſhment of all Revolters, and providing his Army with all Neceſſaries, drew it into their Winter-Quarters; and ſo ended *Cæſar*'s ſixth Year's Expedition, in the 701ſt Year of the City.

U. C. 700. IV. During theſe great Actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, upon the expiring of the time of their Conſulſhips, began to take care about their ſeveral Governments that were allotted 'em. *Craſſus* was extremely elevated with the thoughts of his Expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promiſing himſelf greater Succeſs and Glory than ever *Pompey* himſelf: Therefore he was very forward and diligent in his Preparations. The *Tribunes* hinder'd the raiſing of Men as much as they cou'd, and labour'd to repeal the Laws made for their Expeditions. *Pompey* was well enough ſatisfy'd, ſending his Lieutenants into his Provinces, being unwilling to leave the City, as he pretended, becauſe of the general Charge of Proviſions committed to him; an Honour which *Cicero*, in recompence for his Reſtitution, had procur'd him from the Senate, that ſo he might have Authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Craſſus* betook himſelf to Force; which when the *Tribunes* ſaw themſelves unable to withſtand, they deſiſted, but loaded him with horrible and unheard-of Curſes and Imprecations; and many exclaim'd againſt it as an unworthy thing to injure the *Parthians* who deſerv'd no Ill at the *Romans* hands, but were now in Peace with 'em. But *Craſſus* heeding no Reproaches in this caſe, after he had got all things in a readineſs, ſet forward to his Province.

Pompey the mean time kept himſelf wholly to the City, ſtill contriving how to make himſelf more great and powerful in his Country: But the Fame of *Cæſar*'s Conqueſts, which daily fill'd the City, began to prove very ungrateful to him, who fearing nothing ſo much

much as a Rival in point of Glory; and therefore he set himself to do all that was in his Power to diminish the Reputation of *Cæsar*, obliging the Magistrates not to publish any Letters they receiv'd, till he had foreſtall'd the Credit of 'em, by ſpreading falſe and diſadvantageous Reports. This gave great Cauſe of Trouble to many diſcreet and wiſe Perſons, who foreſaw the Miſeries that wou'd follow from a Rupture between two ſuch extraordinary Perſons; and what ſtill augmented their Fears, was the Death of *Pompey*'s Wife *Julia*, Daughter to *Cæſar*, which happned at the ſame time. *Pompey* moſt paſſionately lov'd her, and her Wit and Virtue had always a great Aſcendant over the Diſpoſitions both of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*: The People of *Rome* gave ſufficient Teſtimony of the Reſpect they bore her by Publick Demonſtrations of their Sorrow; and when *Pompey* wou'd have carry'd her Body to one of his Houſes nigh *Alba*, the People wou'd not ſuffer it, but bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they bury'd it with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable. From this moment *Pompey* reſolv'd to purſue nothing but his own particular Advancement; and, for the reſtoring himſelf to the Favour of the People, he caus'd a ſtately Theatre to be built, which he dedicated by Plays and other Magnificent Shows, which were no ways pleaſing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his Epiſtles.

While *Pompey* was managing his Affairs at home, and *Cæſar* in the midſt of *Gaul*, *Craſſus* was purſuing his Expedition with all Vigour. In his Journey he march'd thro' *Jeruſalem*, where he rifled the Temple of a great Treaſure, to the Value of 10000 Talents, which *Pompey* to his great Reputation had ſpar'd. He ſpent many Days in weighing the Treaſure of the Idol Goddeſs in *Hierapolis* or *Edeſia* in *Syria*; and in his whole Paſſage he ſhew'd more of Covetouſneſs than Valour, liſting many Men, and then diſcharging 'em again for Money. He likewiſe neglected his

Opportunities of falling upon the *Parthians* unprov-ided, despis'd the Friendship of the *Armenian* King, who gave him leave to pass thro' his Country to *Parthia*, and took no care about the refreshing of his Men till he had certain News of the Enemy, and neglected to pass down the River *Selucia*, as he was advis'd, where he might have been supply'd with Provisions by Water. This latter Counsel he rejected by means of the cunning Insinuations of *Abgarus* the *Osroenian*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, was now in the Interests of the *Parthians*, and feeding *Crassus* with Money to gild over his Treachery, gave 'em notice of all that pass'd in the *Roman* Camp. He likewise perswaded *Crassus* to lay aside all Thoughts of *Selucias* and *Ctesiphon*, and march directly against *Surenas* the *Parthian* General. This Advice he follow'd, and thereby first losing his Son, a very hopeful Youth, he himself was circumvented by *Surenas*, under Pretence of a Treaty, and either slain by his Enemies, or kill'd by some of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their hands. His Men were miserably slaughter'd to the number of 20000, besides 10000 taken, and his Head carry'd to *Orodes* King of *Parthia*, who caus'd melted Gold to be pour'd into his Mouth, crying, *Now satisfie thy self with Gold, of which thou always hast been so unsatiably greedy.*

Thus fell *Crassus* in the second Year after his setting out, one of the richest Men in all the *Roman* Empire, and by this, one of the Heads of the *Triumvirate* was cut off. This laid the Foundation of the following Civil War between the other two; for while he liv'd, he was a Check to 'em both, and balanc'd their Interests; but after this, an open Field was left for their Ambition and Emulation to work in. This happen'd in the 701*st* Year of the City, nigh seven Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 51 before our Saviour's Nativity, *A. M.* 3952.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

om the Death of Craſſus, *to the Death of* Pompey, *which made way for* Cæſar's *Abſolute Authority, and was the ſecond Step to the* Imperial State.

Containing above Five Years Space.

THE ſame Year that *Craſſus* was ſlain, moſt vio- U. C.
lent Diſturbances and Diſſentions were rais'd 701.
the City, Factions daily encreaſing, nothing ma-
g'd with the antient Equity and Moderation, and
Offices purchas'd with Bribes and Money, or elſe
in'd by Swords and Clubs. The Conſuls, finding
emſelves debarr'd by the Power of the *Triumvirate*,
om waging War and leading Armies as formerly,
ade it their ſole Buſineſs to enrich themſelves out of
e Publick Revenues, or from the Bribes as well as
e Salaries depending upon their Offices. *Pompey*
onniv'd at all this, hoping that the Infirmities of the
tate wou'd occaſion him to be created *Dictator*; and
r that reaſon he retir'd himſelf for a while, that his
riends might have a fair Opportunity of inſinuating
ae Neceſſity of his Preſence, as well as Authority,
r the preſerving of the Peace of the City. At the
me for the new Election of Magiſtrates, there was
ch a violent Contention among the Candidates, that
r eight entire Months none cou'd be elected. And
hat ſtill heighten'd theſe Miſchiefs, was the Death of
Clodius, kill'd by his great Enemy *Milo*, who met him
y accident by his Country Houſe. The Body was
mediately brought to *Rome*, and expos'd all bloody
o the People, which caus'd great Diſturbances among
he Multitude, who immediately ran furiouſly to *Mi-*
o's Houſe to ſet it on Fire; but he being well pro-
vided to receive 'em, repuls'd and kill'd ſeveral of the
Aſſailants. Upon which they return'd to the Body,
where

where they pull'd all the Magiſtrates Seats in piece made a Funeral Pile of 'em, and ſet Fire to it wit ſo much Rage, that all the ſtately Building where t Senate us'd to aſſemble, was burnt with *Clodius*'s B dy. After this the Mutineers diſpers'd themſelves over the City, where, under Pretence of ſearchin for *Milo*'s Friends, they committed the moſt inſu portable Violences imaginable; ſo that the who City was fill'd with Murthers and Quarrels, till n body durſt walk the Streets unarm'd.

Theſe fatal Miſchiefs turn'd all Men's Eyes upo *Pompey*, as the fitteſt Perſon to redreſs all; but whi they were conſulting about creating him *Dictator*, C by many Perſuaſions, procur'd the Senate to mak him *Conſul* alone, that ſo, if occaſion were, he migh be afterwards accountable for any Male-adminiſtra tion. This was ſoon after done, having the Autho rity of a *Dictator* conferr'd on him under a gentl Name; a thing never known in *Rome* before, bu upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion, and for ſom few Days, when Commiſſion was ſometimes given t the Conſuls, *To take care that the Commonwealth receiv no Damage.* New Troops were allotted to *Pompe* 1000 Talents allow'd yearly for their Pay, and th Government of *Spain* was continu'd to him for fou Years longer, which he adminiſtred by his Deputie *Milo* was ſhortly after accus'd by *Appius*, *Clodius* Brother; and though *Cicero* himſelf undertook to de fend him, yet it happen'd, that by his Fear of *Pom pey*'s Soldiers, who ſurrounded him as he was plead ing, he was put out in his Speech; and ſo *Milo*, fo his Inſolence, was baniſh'd: And when *Cicero* af terwards ſent him his Oration in Writing, the Ex cellency of it made him anſwer, *That it was happ for him that* Cicero *was out in his Harangue, for other wiſe he ſhou'd not have liv'd ſo well at* Marſeilles *as now he did*; for that was the Place of his Exile. *Pompey* having hitherto executed the Office of a *Dictator* took *Scipio Metellus* for his Collegue, whoſe Daugh

te

Cornelia he had lately marry'd, a Lady of no leſs
compliſhments than Beauty. This conſiderably
engthen'd *Pompey*'s Intereſts, who therefore now
ought it no ways difficult to overthrow the For-
nes of *Cæſar*, waiting only till Affairs were ſome-
at more ripe for Execution: But *Cæſar* by his
eat Policy and Induſtry, by his noble Exploits a-
oad, and his bountiful Preſents at home, ſtill ſecur'd
mſelf a ſufficient Party in the City. He caus'd a new
rum to be ſet up at *Rome*, the Place whereof coſt him
0000 Seſterces: He gave alſo to the People certain
ays, and a Publick Feaſt, in acknowledgment of
e Honours done to his Daughter *Julia*, being like-
ſe a particular Incourager of Learning. At this
ne, among many other learn'd Men, flouriſh'd *Salluſt*,
moſt excellent *Hiſtorian*, both for *Matter* and *Stile*.
Cæſar had now almoſt compleated his Conqueſts in *U. C.*
aul, when the Troubles in *Rome*, and his Abſence, 702.
ccaſion'd many of the Nations to endeavour once
ore the Recovery of their Liberty, purſuing their
eſigns with greater Vigour than ever, chuſing *Ver-*
ngetorix for their General. *Cæſar* reſolving to loſe
o time, forc'd his way over the Mountains, thro'
aſt deep Snows, and after ſome various Succeſs a-
ainſt the Enemies numerous Armies, he overthrew
rcingetorix, who, upon that, retir'd to *Aleſia*, a City
the *Mandubii*, ſhutting himſelf up with no leſs than
0000 Men, and made all neceſſary Proviſions for
Siege. *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the Hazard of
ch an Attempt, ſhortly after inveſted the Place,
nd here he ſhew'd an admirable Skill and indefati-
able Induſtry, in his vaſt and prodigious Works
e rais'd againſt this Place, both to defend himſelf,
nd diſtreſs the Town, well knowing the great Num-
ers of the Succours that were marching to relieve
. For though the City, by the extraordinary
Height of its Walls, and the Multitude of its Defen-
ents, appear'd to be impregnable, he encounter'd
ith greater Difficulties without, being in a ſhort
time

time beſieg'd himſelf by 250000 of the choiceſt o the *Gauls*. Yet by means of his double and treb Trenches, his mighty Lines of Contravalation, an his wonderful Management and Vigilance, he r puls'd the Relievers, and ſoon after he became Ma ſter of the Town, to his great Honour and Reput tion, all other Places ſubmitting without delay. An thus ended *Cæſar*'s ſeventh Years Expedition in the Parts, which, as it was the moſt hazardous and dan gerous, ſo it was the moſt honourable and glorio that ever he undertook.

The *Gauls*, notwithſtanding their great Loſſes, an the irreſiſtible Power of *Cæſar*'s Arms, reſolv'd to t their Fortune once more, and many of their Nation join'd again in Confederacy. *Cæſar* having Intelligen of their Deſigns, began his March from *Bibracte*, an made great Devaſtations throughout the Territories o the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and ſubdu'd ſeveral of the Pe ple about thoſe Parts. C. *Fabius*, one of his Lieutenant alſo reduc'd ſome Parties of 'em in the mean time, an *Caninius*, another of his Lieutenants, defeated likewi ſeveral other Parties; after which *Cæſar* join'd him and inveſted *Uxellodunum*, a City of the *Cadurci*, a Pla very ſtrong by ſituation; yet he obtain'd it with litt or no Bloodſhed, by turning the courſe of the Spring that ſupply'd the Place with Water. After this, th reſt of the Places in *Aquitain* ſubmitted, and going t *Narbone*, he then diſpos'd his Men into their Winte Quarters, in ſuch a manner, that they prov'd ver uſeful to him afterwards in the Civil Wars. And th finiſh'd *Cæſar*'s eighth and laſt Years Expedition i *Gaul*, and all the Parts thereabours, after a long an almoſt uninterrupted Courſe of many glorious Con queſts and noble Victories, to the mighty Increa of his own Honour and Renown, and the great In largement of the *Roman* Dominions and Riches, a well as the Terror of their Name and Authority.

II. Now the Jealouſies between *Cæſar* and *Pomp* began to be more conſpicuous than ever, and we

migh

ight a Rupture be expected, when two Perſons, the reateſt that ever *Rome* produc'd, were become Rivals Glory; eſpecially when their Tempers were ſuch, at the latter cou'd not endure an Equal, nor the for- er a Superior. *Cæſar* had now rais'd himſelf to an xtraordinary Height both as to Riches and Reputa- on; then the Grandeur of his Mein, his unbounded enerosity, and his noble Actions, had intirely en- ag'd the Affections of his Soldiers to him, who all ov'd him almoſt to Adoration. Again, a great many f the Senators ſtood oblig'd to him for conſiderable ums of Money, which he had lent 'em without In- ereſt; he entertain'd with Magnificence all ſuch as erv'd under him, even to the very Slaves; and his rmy was a Refuge to all manner of Criminals, and uch as were much in Debt, a great many of which e diſcharg'd at his own Expence; but for ſome hoſe Debts were larger than ordinary, he us'd to ay, *That one Civil War wou'd make all even.* All this as done at *Gaul*'s Expence, which might occaſion is Obſervation, *That* Cæſar *conquer'd the* Gauls *with* e Roman *Steel, and the* Romans *with the* Gallick *old. Pompey* had obſerv'd, that *Cæſar* in his *Conſulſhip* ad render'd himſelf very diſtaſtful to the Senate, herefore he made it his Buſineſs by his outward Car- iage and fair Demeanor, to gain their Favour, which e did with good ſucceſs. *Cæſar* was aware of this, nd for that reaſon endeavour'd vigorouſly for the onſulſhip in his abſence, and likewiſe to procure his overnment to be prolong'd, trying all Ways and ethods to keep his Army till he cou'd get to be cho- en Conſul. But he ſoon found that this Affair did ot ſucceed according to his Wiſh, being chiefly hin- er'd by *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the preſent Conſuls nd his great Enemy. Though he was ſufficienly ſen- ible of *Pompey*'s Jealouſy, he reſolv'd to endeavour nce more to preſerve his Friendſhip, therefore offer'd im his Niece *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey*'s Daugh- er for himſelf; but *Pompey* thought fit to make choice

of

of an Alliance with *Scipio*, whom he join'd with him in the Conſular Dignity for the laſt five Months.

The firſt publick appearance of the Diviſion begun from *Pompey*'s two Laws, publiſh'd in his Conſulſhip, the firſt being *To enquire into the Miſcarriages of Officers for twenty Years laſt paſt*; and the latter, *To forbid abſent Perſons to demand any Publick Employment*; both which were deſign'd againſt *Cæſar*. But ſtill no great Violence was us'd, but all was manag'd with extream Artifice and Cunning till the Election of the new Conſuls, who were *Æmilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus*, a Kinſman of *Marcus*. Now every one with great Impatience expected to find how the Conſuls wou'd declare themſelves; the firſt had been well ſecur'd by a large Preſent of 1500 Talents from *Cæſar*, but *Calidius* was *Cæſar*'s Enemy, and being carry'd on by the ſame Spirit with his Kinſman *Marcus* follow'd alſo his Methods. *Curio* was likewiſe one of the Tribunes, a Perſon of the higheſt Fame for his Eloquence and Pleadings, and of great Parts and Reſolution, but now much burthen'd with Debts both for himſelf and others, and particularly for *Marcus Antonius*, one of his Collegues. *Curio* had been one of the moſt violent againſt *Cæſar*'s Intereſt, but *Cæſar*, who well knew all his unhappy Circumſtances, quickly found a way to bring him over, by furniſhing him with means to quit himſelf of thoſe Incumbrances. *Curio*, after this, made uſe of Practice very refin'd, forbearing to declare himſelf of *Cæſar*'s Party, the better to penetrate the Deſigns of the other Party, and after that ſought an Opportunity to break with *Pompey*. In order to which, he demanded to have the Charge of the High-ways conferr'd upon him, altho' he knew it wou'd be deny'd him; and upon refuſal, he ſhew'd his reſentment; and ſoon after, when *Marcellus* the Conſul propos'd with great earneſtneſs the recalling *Cæſar* from his Government, *Curio* applauded his Wiſdom, adding withal, *That it was but Juſtice that* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould be both*

call'

call'd from their Governments together. All apprehended the meaning of this Propoſal, and *Pompey*'s Friends began to be very troubleſome to *Curio*, particularly *Appius*, one of the Cenſors, who threaten'd to expel him the Senate, and propos'd it in one of the Aſſemblies. *Curio* ſubmitted to any thing decreed againſt himſelf in particular, but would yield to nothing where *Cæſar*'s Intereſt was ſtruck at, and the Conſul *Æmilius* ſecur'd him from the Affront offer'd him by *Appius*.

Curio reſolving not to be diſcourag'd, made the ſame Propoſal to the People as he had done to the Senate, which was receiv'd with the greateſt Applauſe imaginable; and as a further teſtimony of their Satisfaction, they gave Power to *Cæſar* to demand the Conſulſhip without removing out of his Province. This caus'd *Pompey* to leave the City, under Pretence of going to his Government, but he really went no further than a Country-houſe of his, where falling ſick, he wrote to the Senate, *That he was ready to reſign all his Employments when* Cæſar *did the like, which he wou'd confirm upon his return to* Rome. *Curio* immediately took this Advantage, and told him, *It was his Duty to begin what he propos'd, and he wou'd engage that his Example ſhou'd be follow'd by* Cæſar. The matter was then publickly debated, but ended only in an Order, that two Legions ſhou'd be drawn out of *Cæſar*'s and *Pompey*'s Army to be ſent againſt the *Parthians*; and this was only to weaken *Cæſar*'s Army, for *Pompey* likewiſe demanded the Legions which he had formerly lent him. *Cæſar* immediately apprehended the Reaſon of this Order, and *Pompey*'s Deſigns, nevertheleſs he made no oppoſition, but ſurrender'd two Legions, generouſly giving each Man five and twenty Crowns. *Cicero* at this time return'd to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, where he pretended, for his great Exploits to have merited the Honour of a Triumph. His abſence had hinder'd him from joining with either Party, and his preſent Pretenſions oblig'd him to be a Mediator between both,

but

but no Propoſals of Accommodation wou'd be hearken'd to; for *Appius*, returning from *Cæſar*'s Army, publiſh'd abroad, *That his Soldiers had no eſteem for him, and that they would certainly come over to the Senate's Party, whenever they recover'd this ſide of the Alps.* This Relation gave *Pompey* great Confidence, ſo that *Cicero* cou'd not be heard: And when he afterwards ask'd *Pompey* what Forces he had to oppoſe *Cæſar*, his Anſwer was, *That he need but ſtamp with his Foot, and an Army wou'd ſtart out of the Earth.* Many of the Senators began to talk very meanly of *Cæſar*, and *Cato* himſelf ſcornfully declar'd, *That he wou'd bring him to an Account for his Actions, and that he ſhou'd be treated as* Milo *had been before him.*

Cæſar often writ to the Senate, to deſire to be continu'd in his Government as *Pompey* had been, or be recall'd both at the ſame time, or elſe be permitted to ſtand for the Conſulſhip by Proxy. Theſe Propoſals being rejected, he repaſs'd the *Alps* with his third Legion, and march'd to *Ravenna*, from whence he writ a Letter to the new Conſuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, wherein, after an honourable mention made of his own Exploits, he ſignify'd, *That he was ready to reſign all his Power, in caſe* Pompey *did the like; otherwiſe they might reaſonably expect, that he cou'd not be wholly inſenſible of the Injury that wou'd be done him, as well as his Country.* Great Debates and violent Diſſentions were rais'd about this Letter; but after a long time ſpent, a Decree was at laſt iſſu'd out, *That* Cæſar *ſhou'd diſband his Forces within ſuch a time, and if he refus'd Obedience he ſhou'd be declar'd an Enemy to the Commonwealth.* And tho' this Decree was much oppos'd by many, yet immediately after follow'd another, publiſh'd only in caſes of Extremity, *That the Conſuls and other Magiſtrates ſhou'd take care that the Commonwealth receiv'd no Damage;* and *Pompey* was order'd to command what Troops were in a readineſs. From that moment a Succeſſor was order'd to *Cæſar*, which was *Domitius*, and all were up in Arms in *Rome*. *Cæſar* receiv'd a

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ſpeedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who fled to him in Slaves Habits, in which condition he ſhew'd 'em to his Army, telling his Men, *That the Senate had dealt baſely and ungratefully by him, who had done 'em ſo many eminent Services, as well as unjuſtly and inhumanely by his Friends, whoſe Perſons were ſacred by their Office, but were now forc'd to conceal themſelves under the mean Habits of Slavery, to ſhun the Fury of his Enemies; and all for maintaining thoſe undoubted Rights, which even raging* Sylla *durſt never violate.* In fine, tearing his Robes, and falling into Tears, he conjur'd all his Soldiers, *That they wou'd defend his Honour and Reputation, after their ſerving nine Years under him with ſo much Glory and Renown.* The Soldiers all with loud Acclamations anſwer'd him, *That they were ready to revenge all Injuries done to their General*; and thus began the famous Civil War, about four Years after the Death of *Craſſus*.

III. Among the many Warlike Qualities of *Cæſar*, his Diligence in preventing any Enemy, and purſuing a Victory, was the moſt admirable; and here he found it moſt neceſſary, ſince he had to deal with a Commander far more expert than any he had hitherto been engag'd with; therefore his utmoſt Skill and Policy was to be made uſe of at this Juncture. He firſt ſent a choice Party of Men, arm'd only with Swords, to put themſelves as ſecretly as poſſible into *Ariminum*, the firſt City of his Province. He himſelf ſpent his time at *Ravenna*, in ſeeing the Combat of the Gladiators, and when Night came, ſat down at the Table with his Friends, but ſoon roſe again, deſiring 'em, *to make themſelves welcome, and he wou'd be with 'em in a moment*; but he had ſecretly order'd ſome Mules to be put into his Chariot, in which Equipage he ſet forwards towards *Ariminum*, with ſome few of his particular Friends he had order'd to follow him ſeveral ways, and one Legion, which was all he had there. It was a troubleſome Journey, but they reſolv'd to undergo it; ſo ſometimes on Foot, and ſometimes in his Chariot, *Cæſar* arriv'd upon the *U. C.* 705.

Banks of the *Rubicon*, a little River which parted Ci *alpine Gaul* from the reſt of *Italy*. Here he began t have ſome Remorſe, and all the Misfortunes of th ſucceeding War preſented themſelves to his melan choly Mind, which put him upon conſidering, wh Poſterity wou'd think of this Paſſage. Sometimes h had thoughts of going back, and turning himſelf *Aſinius Pollio*, *'Tis now in our Power*, ſays he, *to retur but if we paſs this fatal River, our only Retreat muſt be our Arms.* Some Authors ſay, That juſt by the plac where he ſtood, of a ſudden there appear'd a Man extraordinary Stature, who made excellent Muſic with a Reed he play'd upon; which uncommon ſigh drew many of the Soldiers to him, amongſt the re a Trumpeter, from whom this Man ſnatch'd h Trumpet, and ſounding a Charge with a more vi lent blaſt than ordinary, threw himſelf into the Wa ter, and paſs'd over to the other ſide. *Cæſar* with out further conſideration paſs'd the River, crying *Let us go where the Gods ſo loudly call, and the Fury of o Enemies drive us!* From thence he march'd direct to *Ariminum*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of it without Re ſiſtance: So with 6000 Men only he began that fa mous War, ſending Orders to the reſt of his Troop to follow with all poſſible Diligence.

This unexpected Enterprize gave moſt dreadful Ap prehenſions to the City of *Rome*, every one imaginin *Cæſar* at the Gates with all his Army; and it was a odd Confuſion to ſee the Country People running t the City for ſafety, and the Citizens flying into th Country for ſecurity. *Pompey* himſelf was amaz'd, an *Cicero* under great difficulties, as appear'd by his Epiſtl upon this occaſion; but what was the greateſt troubl to *Pompey*, was the biting and reflecting Words of man of his own Party, ſome laying Indiſcretion to his charg others Injuſtice; and *Favonius*, a crack-brain'd Philo ſopher, and a pretended Imitator of *Cato*, bad hi ſtamp with his Foot and produce his Armies as he ha promis'd. At laſt *Pompey* told 'em, *That they ſhou'd n*

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want an Army if they wou'd follow him: That it was neither their Houſes nor their Provinces that cou'd inſpire 'em with the Love of Vertue and of Liberty, but Men of Honour might find it in all Retreats; and that their following him wou'd be the only way to put 'em in a Condition of returning to their Houſes with Glory. The Conſideration of the preſent Danger, made 'em reſolve to quit the City; ſo the Conſuls, and almoſt all the Senate, with great Precipitation, follow'd him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cæſar* had ſent from *Gaul*. *Pompey* with all diligence put his Affairs in order, and reſolv'd to retire towards *Brunduſium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to Command in *Capua*, who receiv'd his Commiſſion with ſome Reluctancy, *Pompey*'s Affairs ſeem'd to be in a better poſture by *Labienus*'s leaving *Cæſar*, and coming over to him, which he did upon ſome Diſcontent, expecting to have been made equal with *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* ſeem'd little to value that, but either through Policy or Generoſity, ſent all his Money and Equipage after him. Still *Pompey* thought it moſt convenient to ſend to *Cæſar* with Propoſals of Accommodation, which he did by *Lucius Cæſar* his Kinſman, and *Roſcius* the *Prætor*. But the Demands on both ſides cou'd not be agreed upon, for *Pompey*'s Buſineſs was only to gain time, having his chief Reliance upon the Forces of the *Eaſt*, which were abſolutely in his Intereſt. *Cæſar* too depending upon the Vapour and Affections of his Soldiers, had no deſign of quitting his Arms, but only to make it appear as fairly as he cou'd, that he had taken 'em up with Juſtice.

Cæſar now, without loſing any further time, ſeiz'd upon the Towns of *Picenum*, which lay in his way, and in a very ſhort time became Maſter of all that Province. This Progreſs redoubled the Fears at *Rome*, and *Lentulus*, who was come back to ſeize the publick Treaſure, was oblig'd to betake himſelf to flight. In the mean time the Twelfth Legion came to joyn *Cæ-*

ſar, who march'd to *Aſculum*, which *Lentulus* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of with ten Cohorts; but upon *Cæſar*'s Approach retreated in Confuſion, a great Part of his Soldiers deſerting him, as they had done *Curio* not long before. *Cæſar* march'd directly after *Pompey*, not offering to attack *Rome*, as knowing it would fall of courſe to the Conqueror; and the firſt Place that made any Reſiſtance was *Corfinium*, the Metropolis of the Country of the *Peligni*, which was poſſeſs'd by *Domitius*, who had lately rais'd 2 Cohorts out of thoſe Parts. Now as this was the firſt Town that durſt make head againſt *Cæſar*, all Perſons, with great Impatience, expected the Succeſs of the Enterprize. *Cæſar* made his Approaches with two Legions, and was engag'd by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three Miles from the City, but were ſoon driven back to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately inveſted. *Domitius* prepar'd himſelf for a vigorous Defence, and wrote to *Pompey*, *That now he had a fair Opportunity to hem in* Cæſar, *if he wou'd come up; That it would not be for his Reputation to leave ſo many Senators and Knights which were now beſieg'd, as well as ſo many Soldiers, to the Mercy of the Enemy.* *Pompey*'s Anſwer was, *That he was not then in a Condition to hazard all in a Battle; that* Domitius *had engag'd himſelf in* Corfinium *contrary to his Opinion, and therefore he ought to think of making as fair and ſpeedy Retreat as was poſſible.* Upon this Refuſal it was that *Cicero* became ſo angry with *Pompey*, as appears from one of his Epiſtles to *Atticus*.

Domitius conceal'd *Pompey*'s Anſwer, giving out that *Pompey* wou'd bring ſpeedy Relief: But at the ſame time conſulted with his Friends how to make a private Retreat; which being at laſt diſcover'd, his Men ſeiz'd on him, and ſent to *Cæſar*, offering to deliver him up, and ſurrender the Place. *Cæſar* concluded the Offer ought not to be rejected, but however kept his Men from entring that Night, to prevent

all Violences. *Lentulus* being in the Town, came out to him, and humbly begg'd Pardon, putting him in mind of their ancient Friendſhip, and acknowledging the many Favours he had formerly receiv'd at his Hands. *Cæſar* interrupting him, told him, *That he came not from his Province to injure any Man, but for his own Security, and the Reſtoration of the* Tribunes *Office, and the Liberty of* Rome. *Lentulus* ſufficiently incourag'd by this Anſwer, deſir'd leave to return into the Town to give the like Encouragement to others who were now deſperate as to their Fortunes; and the next Day *Cæſar* ſent to the *Senators* and *Knights* who were in Town, with their Children, and the Officers of the Garriſon, to come forth. All theſe he protected from the Inſolence of the Soldiers, and having a little inſiſted upon the point of Ingratitude, he gave 'em all their liberty to go where they pleas'd; and to ſhew that he as little ſought after Money as the Lives of his Enemies, he reſtor'd to *Domitius* 6000 Seſterces, which he had depoſited in the Bank at *Corfinium*, though he was ſatisfy'd that it was Publick Money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay Soldiers. He caus'd *Domitius*'s Men to take the Military Oath to himſelf, and after ſeven Days reſpite at *Corfinium*, he march'd through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Tarentini*, and *Larinates*, and then enter'd *Apulia*.

Pompey having Intelligence of what paſs'd at *Corfinium*, immediately retreated to *Brunduſium*, where the Conſuls ſtrait embark'd for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus* with thirty Cohorts, *Pompey* continuing in the Town with twenty others. *Cæſar* ſhortly after arriv'd before the Place, and having taken *Magius* an Engineer of *Pompey*'s, freely ſet him at liberty, with Orders to tell his General, *That it might be for the common Intereſts of 'em both, as well as the Good of the Republick, for them two to have an Interview, and not to truſt Matters to a third Perſon.* *Magius* brought him no Anſwer back, which caus'd *Cæſar* to endeavour the blocking up the Entry of the Port. To this purpoſe he order'd a Bank or Dam to

be rais'd on each ſide the Haven, where it was narroweſt, and the Water ſhallow enough; but where it was too deep, he caus'd ſeveral Veſſels to be faſten'd together thirty foot ſquare, moor'd with Anchors at each Corner, and plac'd them over-againſt the Entry of the Haven, with deſign to form a ſort of a Stacado or Chain: The firſt Bridge of theſe Veſſels was cover'd with Earth and green Turf, that the Defendants might have firm footing to fight upon, and the two ſides were furniſh'd with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and every fourth Float carry'd a Tower two Stories high, to defend the Works from Attacks and from Fire. It was eaſy to judge for what Deſign all this great Labour and Pains was undertaken, therefore *Pompey* endeavour'd to ruin the Works, and to that purpoſe made uſe of ſeveral Merchant-Ships that were then in the Haven; upon which he rais'd Towers of three Stories high, furniſh'd with Engines and all ſorts of Darts. Theſe he ſent againſt *Cæſar*'s Veſſels, hoping to ſeparate 'em, and hinder the continuation of the Work, which occaſion'd daily ſome little Skirmiſhes with Darts and Arrows.

Cæſar was ſtill forward enough to come to an Accommodation, and ſent to have an Enteryiew with *Pompey*, but Anſwer was return'd, *That the Conſuls being abſent, no Propoſitions of that kind cou'd be receiv'd.* From this time he ſet his Thoughts wholly upon the War, half his Buſineſs being already compleated, by reaſon the Veſſels which tranſported the Conſuls were return'd from *Dyrrachium*, which Opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make uſe of for withdrawing himſelf; and to ſecure his Retreat, he caus'd all the Gates of the City to be wall'd up, and ſeveral Houſes to be demoliſh'd in the croſs Streets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits, fill'd with Stakes, and cover'd with Hurdles and Earth, two only being left free, and thoſe ſtrongly defended with Palliſadoes and Joyſts, planted after the manner of Fraize. After theſe Precautions, he caus'd his Soldiers to embark with all imaginable Silence,

ence, leaving only some Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who were order'd to make their retreat in small Boats on purpose, as soon as his Soldiers were got on board. The Inhabitants of the Town, provok'd by the Ruin of their Houses, advis'd *Cæsar* of their Retreat, who immediately put his Troops into order, and order'd Ladders to be planted at the same moment that *Pompey* shou'd give the Signal to his Archers, who notwithstanding secur'd their Retreat by certain private Paths which they were acquainted with: So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on board, and immediately weigh'd Anchor: *Cæsar*'s Men got over the Walls, and had fallen into the Pits prepar'd for 'em, had not timely warning from the Inhabitants prevented it. This was a considerable stop to 'em, but not so great but they had time enough, with some small Vessels, to seize upon two of *Pompey*'s Ships, which through haste had run themselves a-ground, while the rest made what Sail they cou'd, and sav'd themselves. Thus did *Pompey* with great Skill and Diligence make his escape; and thus did *Cæsar* in sixty Days time become Master of all *Italy* with little or no Bloodshed.

IV. *Cæsar* finding he cou'd not follow *Pompey* for want of Shipping, resolv'd to pass over into *Spain*, to drive out *Pompey*'s Troops, all old Soldiers, under the Command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*; but first he design'd for *Rome*, to settle there some sort of Government. He likewise sent a considerable Force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, but both were abandon'd by them upon the arrival of *Cæsar*'s Troops. *Cæsar* in his Journey to *Rome* gave *Cicero* a visit, but cou'd not persuade him to go thither with him, tho' much Civility pass'd between 'em. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he compos'd a Body of such Senators as he found there, and call'd them the *Senate*; and when they were assembled, made 'em a plausible Speech in justification of all his Actions; then he propos'd the sending of Ambassadors to *Pompey*, but finding none

to undertake that Office, he began to consider about furnishing himself with Money, and his recourse was to the Publick Treasury, which he wou'd have had open'd; but *Metellus* the Tribune boldly oppos'd him in that, alledging, *That the Money was sacred, that the Laws forbad it, and horrible Imprecations had been denounced against such as touch'd it upon any occasion but the* Gallick *War.* To which *Cæsar* reply'd, *That Arms and Laws seldom agreed well together, and that he had remov'd the former Reasons by reducing all* Gaul *to the* Roman *Obedience*; and immediately went to the Doors of the Treasury, but the Keys cou'd not be found, whereupon *Cæsar* sent to the People to break open the Locks; and when *Metellus* had still the Boldness to dispute it with him, in a great Rage he laid his Hand upon his Sword, threatning to kill him, with these Words; *Know, young Man, that it is harder for me to say this than to do it:* Which so terrify'd *Metellus*, that he retir'd. *Cæsar* took out 3000 pound weight of Gold out of the Treasury, and ever after that, had the Treasury at his Command in all his Wars.

After this *Cæsar* departed from *Rome* upon his *Spanish* Expedition, and knowing all *Pompey*'s Circumstances, said with his usual Confidence, *That he went to find an Army without a General, and then he wou'd come back to find a General without an Army.* He receiv'd News in *Provence*, that the People of *Marseilles* had resolv'd to refuse him Entrance, that *Domitius* had got thither with seven Gallies fill'd with Slaves, Libertines, and Peasants that belonged to his Lands, and that the *Marseillians* had call'd down all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Mountains to their assistance. When *Cæsar* sent to 'em to submit, they return'd for Answer, *That they resolv'd to take part with neither* Cæsar *nor* Pompey, *to both whom they had equal Obligations.* *Cæsar* incensed at their Proceedings, immediately besieg'd the Town with three Legions, and order'd twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*, which were compleated in a Month, and brought before *Marseilles.* *Cæsar* finding the Siege

like

ke to be very tedious, left *D. Brutus* to command he Ships, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the Siege, and departed for *Spain* with all ſpeed, where *Fabius*, whom he had ſent before, join'd him with three Legions, which, together with his own Forces, made a noble Army. Upon a Report in that Country, That *Pompey* was coming by way of *Mauritania* to command his Troops in Perſon, *Cæſar* us'd extream Diligence; and to aſſure himſelf of his Men, he borrow'd Money of all his Officers, which he diſtributed among his Soldiers, by that means engaging his Officers by their own Intereſts, and his Soldiers by his Liberality. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then poſted high the City *Ilerda* in *Catalonia*, with ſufficient Forces. *Cæſar* advanc'd towards 'em, and encamp'd along the River *Segre*, over which *Fabius* had laid two Bridges; but endeavouring to get between the River *Herde* and the Enemies Camp, a bloody Conteſt enſu'd, which continu'd for many Hours, in which *Cæſar*'s Men were much ſurpriz'd with the Enemies irregular way of Fighting, fearing to be hemm'd in; till by *Cæſar*'s incouraging 'em, they preſs'd forward into a dangerous Place, which they ſtill maintain'd for five Hours, and then retreated in good Order, both Parties attributed to themſelves the Honour of the Victory; *Cæſar* for driving the Enemy before him, and *Afranius* for keeping the Poſt for which they fought.

Afranius had greater Appearance of Advantage ſhortly after; for the continual Rains carry'd away *Cæſar*'s two Bridges, and hinder'd the River from being fordable any where: Which reduc'd him to great Streights, not being able to get Proviſions, nor to join a ſupply of Forces that came to him from *Gaul*, nor yet to rebuild his Bridges, by reaſon of the Violence of the Stream, and the Oppoſition he met with from the Enemy, who lay on the other ſide of the River. The News of this gave ſuch great Hopes to *Pompey*'s Party at *Rome*, that they went in great Numbers to

Afranius's

Afranius's Wife, to congratulate her Husband's good Fortune; and ſeveral of the Senators who were Neuters before, went over to *Pompey*, and among them *Cicero* himſelf, though he took an Opportunity of leaving him again ſhortly after. But all theſe great Hopes vaniſh'd by means of *Cæſar*'s extraordinary Diligence, who caus'd ſlight Boats cover'd with Leather to be made, and while the Enemy were diverted, by endeavouring to intercept ſome *Gauls* who were coming to join him, he carry'd the Boats in Wagons twenty Miles diſtant from his Camp, put 'em upon the River, and with a wonderful Quickneſs and Dexterity caus'd his Legions to paſs the River; by which means he re-built the Bridges. Thus he re-eſtabliſh'd his Paſſage, got Proviſions, join'd the Forces which came to his aſſiſtance, by his great Skill aſtoniſh'd the Enemy, and gain'd ſo much Reputation, as, together with the News of *Brutus*'s beating the *Marſeillians* by Sea, gain'd him five conſiderable Towns, and made ſeveral others capitulate. *Cæſar* who ſpar'd no Pains to diſtreſs his Enemies, threw up divers Intrenchments and Ditches in order to cut off the Water from their Camp, and to make the *Segre* fordable. *Afranius* and *Petreius* dreading the Succeſs of this Enterprize, after ſeveral Motions of both Armies reſolv'd to reach *Octogeſa*, ſituated on the *Iberus*, where they had ſent a Party before to lay a Bridge over. In order to this Deſign they decamp'd at Midnight, but *Cæſar* ſent his Cavalry after 'em, and oblig'd 'em to ford the River before they cou'd come at their Bridge; then leaving his Baggage in his Camp, he ſuddenly croſs'd the River with his Infantry, and purſu'd them ſo cloſe, that they cou'd neither reach their intended Place, nor return to their former Camp. By which means he reduc'd 'em to ſuch extremities of Hunger and Drought, that they were all oblig'd to yield to his Mercy without any Bloodſhed.

Cæſar, to ſhew his kind and generous Temper, diſmiſs'd 'em all, and ſatisfy'd 'em with incredible Courteſies,

ceſies, ſuch as were never practis'd elſewhere towards Enemies. And in a ſhort time after he became Maſter of all *Spain*, ſending back his Enemies loaden with Shame, and Obligations, to publiſh his extraordinary Clemency and Valour, while he himſelf departed for *Marſeilles*, which was then juſt upon the point of yielding. Upon *Cæſar*'s Arrival they capitulated: During which time *Domitius* made his Eſcape by Sea; *Cæſar* pardon'd the Inhabitants more upon the account of their Name and Antiquity, as he told 'em, than for any other Merit, and leaving two Legions in Garriſon, he departed for *Rome*. Upon his Arrival there, he was receiv'd with great Satisfaction by moſt People, and made *Dictator* by *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor*; but finding this Office not well lik'd of, he laid it down after holding of it 11 days, and caus'd himſelf to be choſen Conſul with *Servilius Iſauricus*. His deſign was now to procure himſelf as many Friends as poſſible; in purſuance of which purpoſe he preferr'd ſeveral favourable Laws; the firſt was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, which, as it uſually happens, having ruin'd almoſt all Credit, and render'd a great many Men incapable of Payment, *Cæſar* order'd, that an Eſtimate ſhould be made of Inheritances, at the ſame Value they bore before the War, and that Creditors ſhould take them according to his Eſtimation; by which means he took away the Fears of a general Bankrupcy, and ſupported the Credit of the Debtors. Beſides, he brought over to his Party all ſuch as expected to be favour'd in this general Valuation, which was the principal deſign of the Law. The other Law was, for the calling home thoſe who had been condemn'd during *Pompey*'s preſiding in the paſſing Sentences of Juſtice. *Cæſar* likewiſe made ſeveral other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of *Dictator*, departed for *Brunduſium* to go againſt *Pompey*, before which time he receiv'd the bad News of the Defeat and Death of *Curio*, whom he had ſent againſt *Varus*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant in *Africk*.

Dic. lxxi. *U. C.* 706.

V. *Pompey*

V. *Pompey*, after his Departure from *Italy* into Epi
and *Greece*, had made all possible Preparations for Re
sistance, drawing over all the *East* to his Interest; an
during the time of *Cæsar*'s being at *Rome*, and in *Spa*
had gather'd together very powerful Armies both
Sea and Land. His Land Forces consisted of 9 *Ital*
Legions effective, besides the two which *Scipio*, h
Brother-in-law, brought him; and the Auxiliarie
from the *Eastern* Countries of 7000 Horse, 3000 Ar
chers, and 8 Cohorts of Slingers: These Troops wer
distributed into *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, and over a
that Coast, to oppose the coming down of *Cæs*
And more than this, he had prepar'd a noble Fleet o
500 large Ships, besides Gallies, Brigantines, and othe
lesser Vessels; all which were Commanded in chie
by *Bibulus*, who executed the Office of Admiral: Be
sides these Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Sums o
Money out of *Asia* and *Greece*; and to recompenc
himself in some measure for the loss of *Spain*, had caus
Dolabella and *Caius Antonius*, who Commanded for *Cæ*
sar on the Coast of *Illyricum*, to be attack'd, and wit
that Success, that the former was driven out, and th
latter taken. These Advantages, which daily kept up
the Reputation of *Pompey*'s Party, still engag'd more
Persons of Consideration to come and joyn them
selves with him, so that he found he had in his Camp
above 200 Senators, whereof he compos'd a Body, and
they assembled themselves in the Form of a *Senat*
With these *M. Brutus* had joyn'd himself, not for any
Respect to *Pompey*, whom he hated; but that severe
Vertue, of which he made Profession, and the Exam
ple of his Uncle, and Father-in-law *Cato*, had ingag'd
him in that Party, which he thought had the most
Justice on its side. In one of their Assemblies, by the
politick Advice of *Cato*, it was determin'd, That no
Roman Citizen should be put to Death out of Battel,
and that no Town subject to the *Roman* Empire
shou'd be plunder'd. In effect, this Laudable Decree
drew the good Wishes of the People upon the Ho-
nourable

ourable Authors of it, and gain'd the Reputation of reat Juſtice and Humanity to their Deſigns, and kewiſe was the Occaſion that the Fortune of *Cæſar* ung for a long time doubtful, and was afterwards nade uſe of to juſtify his Death.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages on *Cæſar*'s ſide, e proceeded with an uncommon Vigour, and undaun-ed Courage, and rendezvouzing at *Brunduſium*, he, without any delay, ſhipp'd off 5 of his 12 Legions, which amounted to no more than 20000 Foot and 6000 Horſe at this time; the reſt were oblig'd to ſtay behind for want of Shipping. *Cæſar* very much incou-rag'd his Men, telling 'em what glorious Actions they were going to undertake; and in ſpight of the Rigour of the Seaſon, upon the 4*th* of *Jan.* he weigh'd Anchor. This much ſurpriz'd the Officers of *Pompey*'s Fleet, to find him venture ſo boldly thro' the Dangers both of the Weather and their Navies. But *Cæſar* tim'd it ſo well, that he made his Paſſage in one Day, and landed his Men at a Place call'd *Pharſalus*, not daring to ven-ture into any known Port, which he believ'd to be poſ-ſeſs'd by the Enemy. Having once got to Land, he ſent back all the Ships to tranſport the reſt of his Legions under the Command of *Calenus*, but in their Paſſage 30 of 'em fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, *Pompey*'s Admiral, who, ſenſible of his former Neglect, in a great Paſſion, ſet 'em all on Fire, deſtroying both Owners and Sea-men, hoping by this Example to terrify the reſt; and for the future he took more than ordinary Care in guard-ing the Coaſts. In the mean time *Cæſar* took Poſſeſſion of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, which, at the ſight of his Troops, ſurrender'd themſelves; by which means he cut off all Communication of Land from *Bibulus* as long as he ſtaid to intercept his Fleet. *Cæſar* ſtill took care to juſtify his Actions, and for that reaſon he ſent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Priſoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a Treaty, and to refer all to the Senate and People of *Rome*; which prov'd of no effect, for the People of *Rome* were too much of *Cæſar*'s Party to be truſted by *Pompey*.

Pompey

Pompey was now in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* joyn'd him, and fearing leſt *Cæſar* ſhould become Maſter of *Dyrrachium*, where all his Ammunition lay, he march'd with his whole Army to ſave that Place. Upon his arrival at that City, the Lazineſs and Deſertion of many of his new-rais'd Troops, made him cauſe all his Soldiers to ſwear, *That they wou'd never abandon their General, but follow him through all his Fortunes*; which Oath was likewiſe taken by all the Officers. He encamp'd by the River *Apſus*, and *Cæſar* had poſted his Army not far off, on the other ſide of the River, to cover *Apollonia*; and both remain'd in this manner for ſome time, impatiently expecting the Succours that were to come up. But the abſence of *Cæſar*'s Legions at *Brunduſium* was a ſevere Vexation to him, whoſe Paſſage was chiefly obſtructed by *Bibulus* at Sea; and *Bibulus* himſelf was in as ill a condition, by being hinder'd of the Conveniences of Land by *Cæſar*'s Troops. At laſt *Bibulus* dying of a Sickneſs at Sea, and leaving no Commander in Chief to ſucceed him, much leſs care was taken than before. *Cæſar* was ſenſible of this favourable Opportunity, but was almoſt deſpairing that his Troops were not arriv'd as ſoon as he expected 'em, for he had written ſeveral times. At laſt, his great Impatience drove him upon an Action, which nothing cou'd excuſe but the extraordinary Confidence he always had in his good Fortune, which was this: He diſguis'd himſelf in the Habit of a Slave, and with all imaginable Secrecy, put himſelf on Board a Fiſher-man's Bark, at the Mouth of the River *Apſus*, with a deſign to paſs to *Brunduſium*, where his Forces lay. They row'd off in the beginning of the Night, but a ſtiff gale of Wind at the Mouth of River, made the Water very rough, and the Maſter and Rowers made ſeveral Attempts to get out to Sea, but the Winds encreaſing, he order'd 'em to deſiſt. *Cæſar* finding his deſign like to be fruitleſs, on a ſudden diſcover'd himſelf, *Fear nothing*, ſaith he, *for thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and all his Fortune*: The

Mariners

Mariners, encourag'd by the Preſence of ſo great a Man, made freſh endeavours, and got into the Sea, but the Waves ran ſo high, that they were at laſt forc'd to return to Land. *Cæſar*'s Soldiers at his arrival, ran to him in great Multitudes, and told with a great Tenderneſs and Affection, *That he had reflected upon their Courages, by going to ſeek out new Forces, when they were ſure to conquer without, whilſt he was pleas'd to head 'em.*

In a ſhort time after, *Cæſar* receiv'd the good News of the ſafe arrival of moſt of his Troops under the Command of *Mark Anthony* and *Calenus*, at *Apollonia*, which conſiſted of 3 Veteran Legions, one new rais'd, and 800 Horſe. They were cloſely purſu'd by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Squadron, 16 of whoſe Veſſels periſh'd by the ſudden turning of the Wind, and the badneſs of the Weather. But 2 of *Cæſar*'s Ships behind there, were taken by the Enemy, and the Soldiers of one put to the Sword; but thoſe of the other being old Soldiers, by bravely defending themſelves eſcap'd. The nigh diſtance of *Cæſar*'s and *Pompey*'s Armies, had occaſion'd ſeveral Parleys as well as Skirmiſhes; and here the laſt Propoſitions of Accommodation were made. *Pompey* proteſted, *That he wou'd never endure that the World ſhou'd ſay, that his Life and Return was a Favour beſtow'd upon him by* Cæſar; and *Labienus* cry'd out, *That nothing cou'd make a Compoſition but* Cæſar's *Head.* Theſe Treaties therefore being ſucceſsleſs, *Cæſar* decamp'd to join *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder his Deſign. He had no River to paſs as *Cæſar* had, but went and poſted himſelf in a Place which he thought moſt convenient for an Ambuſcade, which he had laid for Anthony; but he being advis'd of it by the *Greeks* of the Country, entrench'd himſelf in an advantageous Poſt, where he ſtaid for *Cæſar*, who ſoon after arriv'd; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemm'd in between the two Armies, retreated to *Aſparagus* nigh *Dyrrachium*, leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joining *Cæſar*, which he did the ſame day. Thus theſe two great Men, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*,

at

at the Head of all their Troops, were in a readine to diſpute the Empire of the World, and, what was th more valuable to them, the Pre-eminence of all th Glory and Renown which they had gain'd by the Arms, one in the *Weſt*, and the other in the *Eaſ* And as theſe Actions were perhaps more remarkab than any before 'em in the *Roman* Story, eſpecially to matter of Conduct, ſo it may be convenient to ſomewhat more particular in relating of 'em.

VI. Great Skill and excellent Managment was us by both Generals; and *Cæſar* reſolving not to be ou brav'd by the Rival of his Honour, march'd direct towards *Pompey* at *Aſparagus*; and after three Da march he came in ſight of the Enemy's Camp, an fortify'd his own, from whence the next day he dre out his Troops to offer him Battel. *Pompey* ſtirr'd no and from that moment *Cæſar* perceiv'd he muſt tak other Meaſures. And the next day he decamp'd t go towards *Dyrrachium*, with deſign either of red cing *Pompey* to ſhut himſelf up in the Town, or to c off his Paſſage to ſuch a very uſeful Place, which h in part ſucceeded. *Pompey* at firſt believ'd that *Cæſ* was oblig'd to draw off for want of Proviſions, bu underſtanding his Deſign by Spies and others, th next day began to march, hoping to prevent *Cæſ* by a ſhorter way than he was forc'd to take. Whic *Cæſar* being aware off, incourag'd his Soldiers wh he cou'd, and left 'em but a ſmall part of the Nigh for Reſt, and arriv'd the next Morning under th Walls of *Dyrrachium*, when they began to diſcover th Van of *Pompey*'s Army, who immediately ſecur'd Hill call'd *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, unde which was a ſmall ſhelter for Ships, where few Wind cou'd annoy them. Both Parties intrench'd them ſelves in the Poſts they had taken; and *Pompey* caus part of his Ships to come under his Camp, and im mediately ſent into *Aſia* and other Parts for Prov ſions and Ammunition. *Cæſar* perceiving then tha

he War was like to continue long, and finding the Want of Corn, caus'd Magazines to be made in all Parts not in the Enemy's hands; and notwithſtanding all his Diligence and Care, the Diſadvantages he labour'd under, caus'd his Army to be but ill furniſhed at laſt.

The Inconveniences that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæſar* upon a new Deſign: All round *Pompey*'s Camp were certain little Hills high and ſteep, of which *Cæſar* poſſeſs'd himſelf, and built Towers upon 'em in the nature of Redoubts; then cauſing Lines of Communication to be drawn from Hill to Hill, and other Works, he endeavour'd to block up *Pompey* by that Circumvallation. This was done chiefly to diminiſh the mighty Reputation that *Pompey* had gain'd among Foreign Nations, when all the World ſhou'd know that he was inveſted by *Cæſar*, and dar'd not hazard a Battel. But *Pompey* reſolv'd to run the hazard of any Scandal, rather than a Battel at this time, or to quit either *Dyrrachium* or the Sea; ſo that both Parties at preſent were employ'd in Deſigns and Stratagems. *Cæſar*'s Men daily carry'd on their Works to ſtraiten the Enemy; and thoſe of *Pompey* did the ſame to enlarge themſelves, they having the Advantage as to Numbers; beſides, theirs being the innermoſt Circumvallation, was not extended ſo far as *Cæſar*'s. Tho' *Pompey* declin'd coming to Battel, yet he ſeverely gall'd *Cæſar*'s Men with his Archers and Slingers, which oblig'd 'em to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their Defence againſt the Arrows; and no Day paſs'd without ſome Encounter or other, particularly when *Cæſar*'s ninth Legion was too far advanc'd, *Cæſar* brought it off ſafely, when *Pompey* before believ'd it impoſſible. It was very remarkable to find *Cæſar* beſieging an Enemy ſtronger than himſelf, and ſupply'd with all Proviſions by Sea, while he himſelf was reduc'd to extream Neceſſity for want of Corn.

Yet his Soldiers bore all with admirable Constancy, remembring what great Honours they had often gain'd after such Miseries as these. They made use of Beans and Barley, and a Root call'd *Chara*, which they mingl'd with Milk, some of which they often threw among *Pompey*'s Soldiers, telling 'em, *That they would rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let* Pompey *escape, now they had got him in their Power. Pompey* was extremely surpriz'd at this, and said, *That he did not expect to have had wild Beasts to deal withal.*

But afterwards when Summer came on, there was a great change; for *Pompey*'s Army cou'd hardly be kept alive, being most distress'd for want of Water which *Cæsar* by Dams and other Methods had turn'd another way. On the contrary, *Cæsar*'s Army was in very good Health, well furnish'd with Water and all Provisions, except Wheat; of which also they had fair Hopes, Harvest being so nigh. After this follow'd several Skirmishes, and one Night *Pompey* understanding *Cæsar* was absent a little way, attack'd his Works, but was beaten off with considerable loss, and forc'd to retreat into his old Trenches. In this Encounter one *Scæva*, a Centurion, behav'd himself with a wonderful Bravery, killing two Officers, after he had been wounded in the Eye, Shoulder and Thigh, as *Appian* relates it, and receiving 230 Shots upon his Buckler. *Cæsar* greatly rewarded him and many others, and encourag'd by this good Success, drew out his Men every day, and offer'd Battel to *Pompey* within View of his Lines; and tho' *Pompey* drew out also in Battalia, yet he always kept his Troops under defence of his Ramparts, where *Cæsar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæsar* had now by means of his Officers drawn several Provinces of *Greece* to his Party, and understanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he sent to him to procure an Accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might easily bring about, as having the Command

of

f an Army. But *Cæſar* finding this not to ſucceed, pply'd himſelf more cloſely to block up *Pompey*, nd with the utmoſt Art and Diligence, which rought him to a more dangerous Condition than ver; for his Horſes had conſum'd all their Barley, nd likewiſe all the Leaves of the Trees, ſo that ere remain'd no more Subſiſtence for 'em, and ey were now ſcarce able to go on their Legs for ant of Forage; all which gave very great Hopes *Cæſar* and his Soldiers.

Theſe Troubles and Inconveniences which in-mpaſs'd *Pompey*, made him reſolve to break thro', pecially after he had been inform'd of the Conditi-n of *Cæſar*'s Fortifications by *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, wo Brothers of conſiderable Note, who deſerted *Cæ-* and came over to him. To carry on this De-gn, he gave Orders to his Light-harnaſs'd Men and rchers to defend themſelves with Bavins and Fag-ots of Oſiers; then drawing out 60 Cohorts, he t 'em on board his Ships, and attack'd *Cæſar*'s orks by the Sea, which had been too little regard-, and not well compleated. This was done with ch Effect, that all the Centurions of the firſt Co-rt were cut off except one; and tho' *Cæſar* and his fficers us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to hinder *Pom-y*'s Deſigns, yet by means of his great Conduct d Forecaſt, he got out of his Fortifications, and camp'd in another Place by the Sea, where he d both the Conveniency of all Forage, and of his ipping beſides. *Cæſar* perceiving the loſs he had ſtain'd, and that the courſe of the War had not cceeded according to his Expectation, reſolv'd to ange it and ſet down cloſe to *Pompey*. In that nterprize he deſign'd to cut off a Legion of the E-my which was poſted by a Wood; but this Action ought on a general Battel, where his Men were l entangled within the Intrenchments of the old amps lately abandon'd; and likewiſe ſo ſurpriz'd

and over-power'd by *Pompey*'s Forces, that in ſpi
of all *Cæſar*'s Endeavours, they fled with great Pre
cipitation and Loſs. The greateſt Part periſh'd i
the Trenches, and on the River-Banks, preſs'd t
Death by their Fellows. *Pompey* purſu'd his Victor
to the very Camp of *Cæſar*, but durſt not attack i
being both ſurpriz'd with the ſuddenneſs of the Vi
ctory, and the Fear of Ambuſcades: And this w
his great Error in this Caſe, for *Cæſar* himſe
confeſs'd, *That he had been loſt without Redreſs, co*
Pompey *have known how to make uſe of the Vi*
ctory.

This Advantage gain'd by *Pompey*, caus'd him
be ſaluted *Imperator*; *Labienus* begging the Priſoner
caus'd 'em all to be ſlain; and *Pompey*'s Party h
ſuch Aſſurance, that not thinking any more of fu
ther Engagements and Dangers, they carry'd them
ſelves as undoubted Conquerors, which they repor
ed in all Places, not conſidering the many Circum
ſtances that occaſion'd this Succeſs. But *Cæſar* bein
driven from his former Purpoſes, reſolv'd to chang
the whole Courſe of the War, and aſſembling h
Men together, with a fearleſs Mind ſpake to 'em a
ter this manner: *We have no reaſon to be dejected or di*
courag'd at our late Inſucceſs, but have much more to
thankful to Fortune for the long and uninterrupted Cour
of her Favours, in thoſe many and glorious Conqueſts
Gaul *and* Britain, *and thoſe happy and more ſucceſsful Vi*
ctories in Italy *and* Spain. *If after all theſe renown*
Exploits and noble Acts, one little Diſorder, one Error
Inadvertency, or indeed of Deſtiny it ſelf, has depriv'd
of the Succeſs we might reaſonably have expected, we ough
to correct all by the Greatneſs of our Souls, and the Magn
nimity of our Courages. After this Speech he caſhier
ſome Enſigns, but he needed to make no other Ex
amples, for his Soldiers offer'd to puniſh themſelve
by any Labour or Danger, crying out with grea
Impatience, *To Arms, let us be reveng'd, or die!* Bu

Caſa

Cæſar thought it not convenient to put 'em to the Tryal till their Minds were ſettled, therefore reſolved to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia*, which he did with that Diligence, that *Pompey* cou'd not overtake him, only ſome of his Cavalry came up with *Cæſar*'s Rear, but were repuls'd with loſs. *Cæſar* caus'd his Baggage to march before, and his Advantage of being eight Hours before *Pompey*, oblig'd *Pompey* in four Days to give over his Purſuit, and betake himſelf to other Reſolutions.

Cæſar was conſtrain'd to go to *Apollonia* to diſpoſe of his ſick and wounded Men, and to muſter his Army; but fearing leſt *Pompey* ſhould ſurprize *Domitius*, one of his Lieutenants now in *Macedonia*, with three Legions, he haſtned with his utmoſt Diligence to joyn him. *Pompey* perceiving which way he directed his March, was in as great a Fear for *Scipio*, now in *Theſſaly* with the *Syrian* Legions, and immediately ſet forward. So each General march'd with all the Diligence imaginable, both to ſecure their Friends and ſurprize their Enemies. *Pompey* had the Advantage of the ſhortneſs of the Way, and *Domitius* very narrowly eſcap'd him, who coming to *Æginium* upon the Frontiers of *Theſſaly*, there happily joyn'd *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* ſeeing all his Forces together, march'd directly to *Gomphi*, the firſt Town in the way from *Epirus* to *Theſſaly*. The Inhabitants, who before had promis'd *Cæſar* Obedience, now chang'd their Minds, as many others had done, upon the Report of his being beaten, being perſuaded to it by the *Prætors* of *Theſſaly* then in the City; and after having ſent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Succour, caus'd the Gates to be ſhut againſt *Cæſar*. *Scipio* was now at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, and *Pompey* was not arriv'd in this Province, which causd *Cæſar* to attack *Gomphi*; he order'd Ladders, great Baskets fill'd with Earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all ſpeed; and after having repreſented to his Soldiers the great Advantages

of forcing a Place so very rich and well furnished he caus'd an Assault to be made, which was carry on and supported with such Fury and Bravery, th notwithstanding the extraordinary height of t Walls, the Town was taken in a few Hours tim *Cæsar* left it to be plunder'd, and, without stoppin march'd his Army to *Metropolis*, which yielded t him upon the sight of the Prisoners of *Gomphi*: Th Conduct of his brought over all the Towns in *Th saly* to his Subjection, except *Lariſſa*, which *Scipio* ha possess'd himself of.

Pompey arriv'd at *Theſſaly* within a few Days afte the taking of *Gomphi*, and advanc'd near *Pharsalia* whither *Scipio* went and joyn'd him with his Troops He was receiv'd by his Son-in-law *Pompey* with grea Magnificence, making him Partaker both of his Ho nour and Authority, and ordering the Trumpets t sound every Morning at *Scipio*'s Tent as well as hi own. *Cæsar* was all the time giving Orders for th Subsistance of his Army, and with great Skill makin Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Soldiers; an finding them hearty and vigorous, caus'd 'em to ad vance as far as the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Pompey* was now encamp'd. The Approach of these two noble Armies, in which were all the chosen *Roman* Legions, whose Valour was to decide the Fate o that great Empire; the Hatred and Ambition o the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory of such a Conquest, together with the small Appearance of an Accommodation, made it out of doubt, that nothing but a general Battel cou'd de termine this famous Quarrel. *Pompey* being the stronger of the two, his Party did not question the Victory, and fell into great Controversies who should be successively Consuls, who shou'd have *Cæsar*'s Priesthood, and who shou'd have his Lands, Goods and Moneys, and likewise how all Dignities and Magistracies shou'd be dispos'd of, with a great many

Things

Things of the like nature: In ſhort, every one ſet his Thoughts upon ſharing the Fruits of the Victory, without conſidering how to gain it. But *Cæſar* was far otherwiſe employ'd, uſing all the Care and Skill imaginable to encourage and perfect his Men: He every Day ſent out Parties, and exercis'd the luſty young men of his Legions to mingle themſelves among the Cavalry, and contend even with the Horſes for Swiftneſs; ſo tho' *Pompey* much ſurpaſs'd in the Number of Horſe, yet *Cæſar*'s being ſo well and skilfully aſſiſted by theſe Light-arm'd Foot, were not at all afraid of 'em, and in one Rencounter they defeated a great Number of 'em.

Cæſar, now finding his Soldiers vigorous and deſirous of Action, drew out of his Camp, and offer'd *Pompey* Battel. But that General had no ſuch Deſign at preſent, either ſuſpecting his Troops, or dreading the loſs of his Reputation; and therefore endeavour'd to waſte *Cæſar*'s Army with Fatigue and want of Proviſions. He drew indeed ſometimes out of his Camp, but always kept himſelf under his Trenches, at the Foot of the advanc'd Ground, where he was poſted. *Cæſar* cou'd not attack him in that Place without great Diſadvantage, ſo that he reſolv'd to decamp the next Day, that by frequent Motions he might weary out *Pompey*'s Men, who were not ſo harden'd to Toil and Labour as his. Upon the taking down of the Tents, Advice came that *Pompey*'s Army was in *Battalia*, and far enough from his Trenches. Whereupon *Cæſar* caus'd all his Troops to halt, and with extream Joy told 'em, *That now was the happy and long-wiſh'd for moment, in which they might gain themſelves immortal Honour.* After which he drew up his Troops in Order, and advanc'd with 'em towards the Place of Battel. *Pompey* on the other ſide was extremely troubl'd with melancholy Thoughts and preſaging Dreams; but now was no longer able to hold out againſt the Importunities and Murmurings

murings of his Officers, and therefore at preſent did what he cou'd to encourage 'em, particularly by telling 'em, *That the Strength of his Cavalry, who had promis'd him to attack the Enemy's Flanks before they cou'd diſcharge one Dart, was alone ſufficient to gain the Victory.* *Labienus* ſeconded his Speech, adding withal, *That this was not the Army that* Cæſar *perform'd ſuch Exploits in* Gaul *and* Germany *with, which were all gone home, kill'd with Diſeaſes, or deſtroy'd at the laſt Battel at* Dyrrachium. After which *Labienus* took a ſolemn Oath not to return into his Camp but with Victory; which Oath *Pompey* himſelf took, and the reſt after him, not imagining that any thing cou'd be ſpoken vainly by ſo skilful a Commander.

Pompey's Army conſiſted of 45000 Foot, according to *Plutarch*, and 7000 Horſe; *Cæſar*'s but of 22000 Foot, and not much above 1000 Horſe; but *Appian* with ſome reaſon excepts the Auxiliaries, which he ſuppoſes to have been great on both ſides; tho' all agree that *Pompey*'s Forces were double the Number to *Cæſar*'s. *Pompey* left ſeven Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up all his Men in three Lines, every Legion making three Battalions, and each Battalion was drawn up in half Cohorts, that is, 200 Men in Rank, and eight in File. The *Syrian* Legions were plac'd in the middle, under the Command of *Scipio*; the *Spaniards*, whom *Pompey* moſt rely'd upon, on the Right, under *Domitius Ænobarbus*; and on the Left was *Pompey* himſelf, with the two Legions *Cæſar* had reſtor'd at the beginning of the War, under *Lentulus*. The reſt were in the ſame Order, between *Scipio*'s Legions and the Wings; only the Auxiliary Troops, at leaſt ſuch as fought in Order, compos'd the Body of Reſerve; for the others, they were drawn out without Order upon the Left, with the Archers, Slingers, and all the Cavalry, the Right being fortify'd by a River. *Cæſar* left two Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up in three Lines alſo,

ſo, in the ſame Order with *Pompey*; the tenth Le-
on was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the
eft, almoſt join'd to the eighth. The reſt of the
ohorts being drawn up between theſe Legions,
ere on the Centre, where *Domitius Calvinus* com-
anded, *Sylla* having the Right Wing, and *Anthony*
e Left. *Cæſar* put himſelf at the Head of the
nth Legion, whoſe Valour he had often experi-
nc'd, and with deſign to be oppoſite to *Pompey*, who
ntended to fall ſuddenly upon the Flanks of *Cæſar*'s
roops; but he ſoon perceiv'd it by the Order of
is Battel, and thereupon he drew ſix Cohorts out
f all his Troops, of which he compos'd a Body of
eſerve. He exactly inſtructed them in their Duty;
nd above all, gave them to underſtand, *That all the*
Hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour and Conduct
lone. Laſtly, he plac'd his Cavalry ſo as to cover
he Right of the tenth Legion, ordering over and
bove his third Line not to march, till they receiv'd
Signal from him.

Now it was that the Fate of the vaſt Empire of *Rome* was to be decided by the greateſt Generals, the
raveſt Officers, and the ſtouteſt Soldiers in the
World, each Man almoſt being inſpir'd with the
Deſire of conquering gloriouſly, or dying honoura-
bly. As the Armies approach'd, the two Generals
went from Rank to Rank encouraging their Soldiers:
Pompey repreſented to his Men, *The Juſtice and Me-*
rit of his Cauſe; the Advantage of their Numbers,
ſtrengthen'd by the Aſſiſtance of ſo many Illuſtrious Senators;
and the Glory lately obtain'd at the Battel of Dyrrachi-
um. *Cæſar* was contented only to demonſtrate, *That*
he had endeavoured by all poſſible means to obtain an honou-
rable Peace; and if his Enemies had pleas'd, they might
have ſpar'd the Blood of ſo many brave Men. So ſeeing
the Impatience of his Soldiers to fall on, he gave
the Signal of Battel; the Word on *Pompey*'s ſide was,
Hercules the Invincible; that on *Cæſar*'s, *Venus the Victo-*
rious.

rious. There was now only ſo much ſpace betwee the two Armies, as was juſt ſufficient for the Plac of Battel; but *Pompey* order'd his Men to receive th firſt Shock without moving from their Places. *Cæſar* Soldiers ſeeing that, like Men of Skill, of their ow accord made a Halt in the midſt of their Carrier and after taking a little Breath, ran furiouſly upo the Enemy, firſt diſcharging their Javelins, the drawing their Swords, as *Cæſar* had given 'em Or ders. *Pompey*'s Men receiv'd the Charge without th leaſt Diſorder, and falling on with their Javelins an Swords, a cruel and bloody Battel enſu'd, which fo ſome time ſeem'd equal. Then *Pompey* order'd hi Cavalry to charge, which with the Multitude of Ar chers and Slingers, ſoon oblig'd *Cæſar*'s Men to giv ground, and got themſelves upon the Flank of his Ar my, as they firſt deſign'd. Whereupon *Cæſar* imme diately order'd the ſix Cohorts to advance, whic were his Body of Reſerve, to charge upon th Faces of the Enemy with their Pikes ported. Thi Contrivance diſorder'd thoſe nice and effiminat Knights; and the fear of ſpoiling their Faces, put 'e into ſuch Confuſion, that upon the rallying of *Cæ ſar*'s Cavalry, they were all broke in a moment and the Slingers and Archers being thus abandon'd were all cut to pieces. *Cæſar* induſtriouſly follow ing that Advantage, advanc'd and charg'd *Pompey* Troops upon the Flank; which Charge they ſtoo with great Reſolution, and the Allies bravely defend ed themſelves, when *Cæſar* gave the Signal for hi third Line to advance; which freſh Troops pouring in upon *Pompey*'s, weary'd out, and attack'd on al ſides, eaſily broke 'em. The Flight began among the Strangers, tho' *Pompey*'s Right-Wing ſtill vali antly maintain'd their ground; but *Cæſar* cauſing his Men to cry out, *Kill the Strangers, but ſave th* Romans, the *Romans* laid down their Arms, and receiv'd Quarter, but a miſerable Slaughter was made

made among the Strangers, who fled with all speed.

Cæsar, now finding the Victory certain, and *Pompey* retreated to his Trenches, cry'd out to his Men, *That they ought to pursue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp.* It was now Noon-day, and tho' they were weary'd out with the extremity of the Heat, yet upon seeing their General march a-foot at the Head of 'em, they follow'd him with great Resolution, and falling on with fresh Courage, the Enemy all fled to the Mountains not far off. *Pompey* himself was so extreamly dishearten'd and confounded, that here he cou'd perform nothing worthy of his great Courage or Reputation, but getting on Horse-back, he fled to *Larissa*, and from thence to the Sea. *Cæsar* found throughout the Camp much rich Furniture in the Tents, Tables spread with fine Linnen, and Cupboards cover'd with Plate, which sufficiently shew'd the Luxury and Assurance of the Enemy. *Cæsar* earnestly desir'd his Soldiers, *Not to amuse themselves with Plunder, but to compleat this glorious Victory*; and by means of the great Respect they bore him, he prevail'd. So a Trench was immediately thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was retreated, who wanting Water, were forc'd to quit it, and retire to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* immediately follow'd 'em with four Legions, and after six Miles March, drew up in *Battalia*, which caus'd the Enemy to betake themselves to a high Hill, at the Foot of which ran a River. Now, Night approaching, *Cæsar*'s Men were almost spent, and ready to faint with the incessant Toil of the whole Day; yet still by his obliging Persuasions, he prevail'd with 'em to cut off the Conveniency of Water from the Enemy by a Trench. This immediately forc'd 'em to a Capitulation, only some Senators made their Escape in the dark. The next Morning *Cæsar* order'd all the Enemy to come down into the Plain, and lay down their

their Arms, which they obey'd, and falling upon their Knees before him, in the moſt ſuppliant Poſture, begg'd for Mercy, which he granted 'em with all the Clemency and Kindneſs imaginable, and commanded his Soldiers not to offer 'em the leaſt Incivility, nor plunder their Baggage. Thus *Cæſar*, by his wonderful Skill and Courage, and by the indefatigable Induſtry of his Soldiers, obtain'd the moſt compleat, tho' not the moſt bloody, Victory that ever General in the World did, 15000 of the Enemy being ſlain in Battel, and 24000 ſurrender'd, he himſelf loſing a very inconſiderable Number.

In the mean time, the great *Pompey*, who juſt before had been the glorious Commander of Kings, and all the Greatneſs and Magnificence of *Rome*, now found himſelf reduc'd to ſeek Retreat with ſome few of his Friends in a poor Fiſherman's Cabin: From whence he went aboard another Veſſel, and made forward every Day as much as he could; but the ungrateful Sound of his Defeat ſtill flew before him, which ſo dejected and confounded him, that he cou'd not think of any thing that might be ſerviceable to him. His Aſſurance of Victory made his Defeat moſt intolerable, leaving him naked and diſarm'd of all Relief: And his Misfortunes had ſo infatuated his Mind, that he cou'd not ſo much as uſe thoſe Advantages he had ſtill by Sea, where he had a powerful and victorious Fleet. He ſail'd firſt to *Amphipolis*, then to *Lesbos*, where he took his Wife, who bitterly complain'd *of the ill Deſtiny which ally'd her to* Craſſus *firſt, and afterwards to* Pompey, *only to cauſe the Ruine of two ſuch illuſtrious Families.* *Pompey* from thence directed his Courſe to *Ægypt*, where King *Ptolomy*, a Minor, was in War with his Siſter *Cleopatra*, whoſe Father *Pompey* had ſettled in his Kingdom. *Pompey* ſent to him, *That in regard of the ancient Hoſpitality and Amity between him and his Father, he deſir'd a Retreat of him in* Alexandria, *and that by his*

his Wealth and Power he would ſupport him, now fallen into the utmoſt Miſery and Calamity. The Meſſage was well enough receiv'd; but ſuch as were Protectors of the King, and Guardian of the Kingdom, now in his Minority, either induc'd by the Fear of the Armies being gain'd by *Pompey*, many of 'em having been his Soldiers, or elſe deſpiſing the lowneſs of his Fortune, gave a civil Anſwer openly to the Meſſengers, and deſir'd him to come to the King: But ſecretly plotting among themſelves, ſent *Achillas*, a principal Commander, and of great Boldneſs, together with *Septimius*, a *Roman* Tribune, to kill him. They met him with much Civility; and *Pompey* knowing *Septimius* to have led a Company under him in his War againſt the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark, with a few of his Soldiers, and there was barbarouſly and treacherouſly murther'd by *Achillas* and *Septimius*, his Wife and Friends flying with what Sail they cou'd make. His Head being cut off, they left the Body on the Shoar, which was carefully taken up by *Philip* his Freed-Man, who gathering up ſome Pieces of a broken Boat for a Pile, was ſurpriz'd by an old *Roman* Soldier of *Pompey*'s reſiding in *Ægypt*: *Who art thou*, ſaid he, *that art making theſe ſad Preparations for the Great* Pompey's *Funeral? Philip* anſwer'd him, *One of his Freed-Men. Ah*, reply'd he, *thou ſhalt not have all this Honour to thy ſelf, but ſuffer me to partake in an Action ſo Juſt and Sacred; that among all the Miſeries of my Exile, I may pleaſe my ſelf in having the Honour to touch the Body, and aſſiſt at the Funeral of the Greateſt and Nobleſt Soldier that* Rome *ever produc'd.* After which they gave him the laſt Rites, the Sadneſs of which Ceremony was very peculiar.

Such was the End, and ſuch the Funeral, of *Pompey the Great*, who after his eſcaping ſo many memorable and eminent Dangers, where he might have fallen with the Honour agreeable to the Greatneſs of his Character, came at laſt to loſe his Life miſera-

bly

bly by the Hands of three or four Villains; he being now in the 58*th* Year of his Age. This hapned near two Years after his Breach with *Cæsar*, and this cut off the second Head of the *Triumvirate*, and made way for *Cæsar*'s absolute Power soon after; and this hapned in the 706*th* Year of the City, *A. M.* 3957. about 12 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 46 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Pompey, *to the Death of* Cæsar; *which finish'd the Power of the First* Triumvirate, *but still kept down the* Consular State.

Containing the Space of nigh four Years.

U. C. 706. I. THUS successful was *Cæsar* in all his Actions, especially in the last, which Advantage he resolv'd to pursue to the utmost; and knowing that all his Enemies Hopes were lodg'd in the Person of *Pompey*, he follow'd him with his usual Diligence: And as tho' Fortune was resolv'd never to forsake him, *Cassius* retreating into *Asia* with a Fleet of 60 Sail, fell in among *Cæsar*'s little Barks he had provided for his Troops; and tho' he might easily have ruin'd *Cæsar*, yet *Cæsar*'s Presence and Behaviour so over-aw'd him, that he immediately surrender'd himself with all his Navy. *Cæsar* shortly after arriv'd at *Alexandria* with two Legions and 800 Horse, in ten Galleys of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Asia*, ordering the rest of his Men to follow. Tho' these

Forces

orces were very inconſiderable, the Legions being educ'd to 3200 Men, yet the Confidence he had n his Victories, and the high Reputation they had ain'd him, made him believe that he ſhould meet ith Obedience where-ever he cou'd find Men. pon his landing at *Alexandria*, he was entertain'd ith the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whoſe ead was preſented to him, and his Ring which e us'd for his *Signet*. This mournful Spectacle imediately reviv'd the Thoughts of his former Friendip, which with the ſad Imagination of the fatal liſfortunes that attend the greateſt Men, drew ears from his Eyes, and made him turn away his ace with Horror, keeping the Ring, and ſendg away the Meſſenger in a moment. He afterards to ſhew his Reſpect to this great Man, caus'd a agnificent Sepulchre to be built by the Place where was murder'd, with a Temple which he call'd *e Temple of Wrath.*

Cæſar upon his Entry into *Alexandria*, having his xes and Faſces carry'd before him as Conſul, the ultitude were much offended, as they were at s landing, crying out, *That the King's Authority was miniſh'd*; which occaſion'd *Cæſar* to give Orders r other Legions, which were enroll'd for *Pompey's* rvice, to be brought to him out of *Aſia*. In the ean time, as an Argument of his Confidence, he ade great Entertainments, and aſſiſted at the Conrences of Philoſophers, who were in great Numrs within that City. But *Photinus* the Eunuch, who me to *Alexandria* with the young King, daily gave m freſh Marks of his Diſſatisfaction, and Intenti of making uſe of Arms; till at length the Inſonce of this Perſon, and probably the Reputation the admirable Beauty of *Cleopatra*, caus'd him to clare publickly, *That the Controverſy between the ng and his Siſter belong'd to the Cognizance of the People* Rome, *and conſequently to himſelf as* Conſul, *and the rather*

rather, becauſe old Ptolemy *by his Will had left his eld Son and Daughter Heirs, and the People of* Rome Exec *tors.* Upon this account he intended to make up Differences between 'em, and ſent to 'em *to have' rather to plead their Cauſes before him, than to decide Controverſy by the Sword.*

At this time *Photinus* had the Adminiſtration the Kingdom, and he diſdain'd to come to *Cæſa* Propoſals, but thereupon procur'd *Achillas* to marc directly to *Alexandria* at the Head of 22000 ſto Men, many of 'em being *Romans.* This forc'd C *ſar* to take great care, after he had ſecur'd the King Perſon, to ſecure himſelf in the Town, not bein ſtrong enough to ſtand 'em in the Field, and to cau his own Quarters to be ſtrongly fortify'd, whe nevertheleſs he was ſhortly after attack'd by *Ach las. Cæſar*'s Soldiers bravely repuls'd the Enem whoſe chiefeſt Deſign was to get Poſſeſſion of the Ships and 22 Galleys which were in the Have which oblig'd *Cæſar* after a long and doubtful Figh to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Pharos*, a Tower of wo derful Structure in an Iſlet juſt by, and to ſet Fi to thoſe Veſſels; the Flames whereof being drive by the Wind upon ſome Houſes nigh the Port, bur 'em down, and among 'em unhappily conſum'd o of the beſt Libraries in the World, belonging to t Kings of *Ægypt*, and conſiſting, as ſome Autho report, of 700000 Volumes. The Port made *Cæ* Maſter by Sea, tho' he was cloſe ſhut up by Lan and the People of the Town were generally again him. In the mean time the young Princeſs *Cleop tra* came to *Cæſar* with much Danger and Difficult ſhe embark'd in a Shallop with only *Apollodorus*, o of her Domeſticks, with whom ſhe arriv'd th Night under the Caſtle of *Alexandria*, and the *Apollodorus* binding her up in a Packet of thoſe Ne ceſſaries which he brought along with him, too her upon his Back, and by that means deceivin th

e *Ægyptian* Guards, carry'd her to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* as too ſenſible of the Charms of Beauty, not to touch'd with thoſe of *Cleopatra*, who was now the Prime of her Youth, and one of thoſe rightly Beauties, whereof every Feature had its par-cular Grace: All which join'd with an admirable it, and a Voice ſo ſoft and bewitching, that even at Perfection alone, without the help of her Eyes, hich were the fineſt in the World, enſlav'd the earts of all who heard her; nor cou'd *Cæsar* refuſe r his; but at firſt ſight ſhew'd himſelf of her *In-reſt*. *Ptolemy* her Brother quickly found it, and *Cæ-r's* Uneaſineſs in his Love, made the Inhabitants ore turbulent; but he ſoon quell'd all, and as Con-l and Tutor to the young Princeſs, in a general Aſ-mbly he read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Father, and romis'd to put it in execution.

In the mean time *Photinus* was ſlain in the City by Tumult; and *Ganymedes* the Eunuch, under Pre-nce of aſſiſting *Arſione*, King *Ptolemy*'s youngeſt Si-er, and by declaring her *Queen*, had caus'd *Achil-s* to be ſlain, and procur'd himſelf to be made eneral of the Army, who aſſuming the ſaid Au-hority, continu'd the Siege with much Vigour, re-uc'd *Cæsar* to great Extremities by ſpoiling all his reſh Water, which he ſoon remedy'd by his extraor-inary Diligence, and digging abundance of Wells. *Cæsar* began now to expect his Succours with Impa-ience, and being inform'd that the 24th Legion was rriv'd on the Confines of *Africk*, but cou'd not ome up by reaſon of the Winds, he embark'd with his whole Fleet, but with only his Mariners, and ſet forward to meet it. The Enemy knowing that he was without Soldiers, attack'd him; but he ſoon worſt-ed 'em, join'd his Legion, and return'd to *Alexan-dria*. This firſt Fight aſtoniſh'd the *Alexandrians*, nevertheleſs they refitted, and came againſt *Cæsar* with a ſtronger Fleet than before, but were again

routed, and forc'd to fly under the Peer of *Pharo*. *Cæsar* was only Master of the Tower, and making an Attack upon the Peer with some little Success, was nevertheless at last repuls'd with so much Disorder, that not being able to hinder his Soldiers from throwing themselves on board his Ship, he saved himself by swimming, but with so much Presence of Mind, that he lost none of his Papers, which he held out of the Water with one Hand, to preserve 'em from wetting, nor yet his Coat-Armour, which he carry'd in his Teeth.

The *Alexandrians*, finding they were not able by Force to drive out *Cæsar*, had recourse to their old Arts of Dissimulation, demanding their King from him, pretending, *That they were weary of the Command of* Ganymedes *and a Girl, and that they were desirous of making Peace with the* Romans *under the Authority of their lawful Prince.* *Cæsar* was sensible of their perfidious Temper; but finding the War might be more honourable, and not much more dangerous, presently deliver'd him, who, as he expected, employ'd all his Forces against him. But at this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of noble Birth, of brave Spirit, and great Fidelity to *Cæsar*, came with an Army to *Cæsar*'s Assistance. He first took *Peluſium* by the way, and went to pass the River Nile at a Place call'd *Delta*. Which *Ptolemy* being inform'd of, went in Person to oppose him; and *Cæsar* did the same to assist *Mithridates*; who before the arrival of either, had already beaten *Ptolemy*'s Men in one Rencounter. *Cæsar* also defeated others, before he cou'd join *Mithridates*; after which he attack'd a small Fort between his Camp and that of *Ptolemy*, which he took, and the next Day attack'd their very Camp, which he forc'd, and the King endeavouring to save himself by Water, was drown'd. After this Victory, *Cæsar* met with no Opposition in all *Ægypt*, and the City of *Alexandria* was the first that submitted;

itted; ſo he made his Entry as Conqueror, and rdon'd the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom eſtabliſh'd Queen with her younger Brother *Pto-y*, according to the Intent of their Father's Will, iving out *Arſione* and *Ganymedes*. The reſt of the ays he ſtaid in *Ægypt*, he dedicated to the Love had for this beautiful Princeſs, and the Rejoi-ngs for his Victory. He ſpent much of his time her Company, and ſome Authors report that he ent up the *Nile* with her in a magnificent Galley, d that he had gone as far as *Æthiopia*, if his Ar-y had not refus'd to follow him; but however, he terwards gave ſuch publick as well as private Te-monies of his Affection, that he left her with child a Son, whom he called *Cæſario*.

II. About the beginning of the *Alexandrian* War, *æſar* had great Honours voted him by the Senate at *ome*, who were now moſt of 'em gather'd toge-er: He was made Conſul for five Years together; *ictator* for a whole Year, and had the Power of *ribune* for his Life; and tho' he was out of *Italy*, took the *Dictatorſhip*, and made *Marc Anthony* his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who as yet had not been *Prætor*. *nthony* at ſix Months End was forc'd to lay down is Office, and was made Conſul, the *Augurs* cry-g, it was unlawful for any *Maſter of the Horſe* to old that Office above ſix Months. But the princi-al Cauſe was his exerciſing too great an Authority that Place; which with the outrageous Carriage *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both *Tribunes*, rais'd great ommotions and Diſturbances in the City. *Cæſar's* reſence was now much wanted, and he might ave been far ſooner at *Rome*, if *Cleopatra* had not eld him faſt by her Charms in *Ægypt*, which Hold e was at laſt forc'd to let go after nine Months, nd give way to a greater Violence, which hurry'd im out of her Embraces. This proceeded from

Dic. lxxiii. Annual. *U. C.* 707.

Pharnaces, the Son of the great *Mithridates*, who had formerly been left King of *Bosphorus*, and being ambitious of recovering of his Father's Dominions, had seiz'd *Colchis* with little trouble, and all *Armenia* in the absence of *Deiotarus* the Tetrarch of that Kingdom, besides some other Places. *Cæsar* being then employ'd in *Ægypt*, and hoping to reduce him by others, had sent *Domitius Calvinius* against him, with Orders to receive all the Forces that were in *Asia*. *Domitius* join'd with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, march'd strait against *Pharnaces*, then at *Nicopolis*, which Place he had lately taken. *Pharnaces* affrighted at his Enemy, desir'd a Truce, which *Domitius* contemn'd, and resolving to fight, was considerably worsted in the Engagement.

Pharnaces, elevated with this Success, took in the rest of the Cities of *Pontus*, and march'd into *Bithynia*, hoping to meet with his Father's Fortune; but was stopp'd in his Career by the Revolt of *Asander* whom he had left in his Kingdom in Chief. He design'd to march against him, but was diverted by the News of *Cæsar*'s coming, who upon these Occasions thought it not honourable to make any longer stay in *Ægypt*. *Pharnaces* was much more terrify'd at the Name of *Cæsar* than his Army, and as he approach'd, sent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all ways to evade the present Danger, alledging Cæsar's *pardoning of* Deiotarus, *who had been a greater Enemy to him than he*, not doubting, but early to renew the War after his Departure. *Cæsar*, sufficiently apprehensive of his Designs, gave good Words to the Messengers the first and second time, but at the third time he objected, among other Crimes, *His Ingratitude to* Pompey *his Benefactor*; adding, *That he receiv'd no less satisfaction in pardoning all private Injuries, than in revenging such as had been offer'd to the Republick.* And thereupon using all Expedition, on one and the same Day he went and fought

he Enemy, who at first distress'd him with their horses and Chariots that bore Scythes; but the Veran Troops obtain'd the Victory in a few Hours; nd *Pharnaces* himself flying, and endeavouring to reak into *Bosphorus*, was repuls'd and slain by *Asan*r; the just end of a Person so rebellious to his ather, and so ungrateful to his Friends. This Vicory being so sudden and effectual, made *Cæsar* say, hat Pompey *was very happy in gaining so much Glory ainst this Enemy at so easy a rate.* And in writing *Ancius* at *Rome*, he express'd the Celerity of this xpedition in three Words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici: I came, view'd, I vanquish'd.* *Cæsar* settled Affairs in these arts as well as his time wou'd permit him; and after is bestowing the Government of *Armenia* upon *Abarzanes*, that of *Judæa* upon *Hyrcanus* and *Antiter*, and that of *Bosphorus* upon *Mithridates*, he emark'd and went into *Italy* with a Diligence which ut all the World into Admiration.

III. Upon *Cæsar*'s arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a reat many others of *Pompey*'s Party went out to meet im, and were receiv'd by him with the same Cility as if they had always been of his Interest. his courteous and obliging Behaviour so far gain'd im the Favour of the People of *Rome*, that he asily appeas'd the Dissentions there; and the time f his *Dictatorship* being expir'd, he was chosen Conl with *Æmilius Lepidus*. He cou'd not find time o make any long stay at *Rome*, for the Remains of *ompey*'s Party had rally'd themselves in *Africk* uner *Scipio* and *Cato*, and *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, hich made him hasten thither, after he had apeas'd some Mutinies among his own Soldiers, who nsolently demanded their Rewards and their Disharge; but upon *Cæsar*'s Presence, and his telling m, *They shou'd not partake of the Honour of the* Afri*n Expedition*, they submitted, so as to offer them- *U. C.* 708.

ſelves to be decimated. *Cæſar*, after his uſual Di gence, landed in *Africk* with a ſmall Party, but t reſt ſoon after follow'd; he was in ſome Diſtreſs f want of Neceſſaries for a little time, but that conquer'd with great Conſtancy. After many Mov ments, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes and ſmaller Battels b tween both Parties, in which *Cæſar* was ſometim in great danger, *Cæſar* reſolv'd to come to a dec ſive Battel if it were poſſible. In order to this D ſign, he inveſted the City *Tapſus*, ſuppoſing that S *pio* wou'd attempt to relieve it, in which he was n miſtaken; for *Scipio* joining with King *Juba*, a encamping near *Cæſar*, they ſhortly after came to a g neral Battel, in which *Cæſar* gave a final Defeat to the Enemy's Forces, with little or no loſs on his ſid and became Maſter of all their Bag and Baggag *Tapſus*, *Adrumentum*, and *Zama*, immediately ſurre der'd; *Cato* fled to *Utica*, and *Juba* and *Petreius* kill one another in Deſpair, and all *Juba*'s Kingdom ſu mitted to the Government of *Rome*. *Sitius*, one *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, ſhortly after encounter'd *Afra us* and *Sylla*, as they were going for *Spain*, defeat their Forces, and took 'em Priſoners, after which th were both kill'd in a Mutiny. *Scipio* himſelf and ſ veral Senators being embark'd for *Spain*, were drive upon *Sitius*'s Fleet, where they all were ſlain their Enemies or by themſelves.

Of the Generals of *Pompey*'s Party, *Cato* was onl remaining, who had retreated to *Utica*, where h had eſtabliſh'd a kind of Senate, compos'd of 30 *Romans*. He was at firſt reſolv'd to hold out th Town; but finding the Minds of the Inhabitan much divided, he quitted that Deſign for anothe more agreeable to his Character and Philoſophic Opinions. He deſir'd his Friends, ſome to ſav themſelves by Sea, and others to rely upon *Cæſar* Goodneſs, and embracing them with a more tha ordinary Tenderneſs that Night, his Diſcourſes

m being about Morality, where he defended that Maxim, *That the Virtuous were only happy and free, but Wicked Men were always miſerable and Slaves.* His ons, ſuſpecting his Intentions, at Supper took his word from him, which he miſs'd not when he a-oſe, but lying down in his Bed, read *Plato*'s Dia-ogue call'd *Phædo*, concerning the Immortality of he Soul. Then miſſing his Sword, he was very ngry and diſſatisfy'd till it was brought him; then eeling the Point, he laid it by him, ſaying, *I am Maſter of my ſelf.* He then took his Book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a ſound leep; but juſt as Day began to appear, he took is Sword and thruſt himſelf through the Breaſt; which not diſpatching him, he ſtaggering, fell upon is Bed, and at the ſame time threw down a Ta-le upon which he had drawn ſome Geometrical Fi-gures. At the Noiſe of this his Slaves came in, and with their Cries alſo brought his Sons and Friends, who found him weltring in his Blood, and his Bow-els out of his Body: His Eyes were yet open, which caus'd his Phyſician to eaſe him upon his Bed; then putting up his Bowels, which were yet unhurt, he clos'd up the Wound. Upon this, *Cato* recover'd his ſpirits, and being tranſported with Fury, thruſt back the Phyſician, rent open his Wound again, and tear-ing his Bowels, expir'd before their Eyes. Thus dy'd *Cato*, a Perſon of ſingular Juſtice, Severity and Mag-nanimity; upon the hearing of whoſe Death, *Cæſar* ſaid, Cato *has envy'd me the Glory of ſaving his Life; and therefore do I envy his Death;* deſigning, as was thought, to have conquer'd him by his Kindneſs and Generoſity: His Death compleatly finiſh'd *Cæſar*'s War in *Africk*.

Africk being entirely reduc'd to Subjection, *Cæ-ſar* return'd to *Rome* in Triumph for all his Victories; and firſt to obtain the Favour of the People, he gave em to underſtand, *That his laſt Victory had gain'd*

the Commonwealth of Rome *a Country ſo large and rich that it cou'd yearly furniſh the City with* 200000 *Buſhels of Corn, and* 3000000 *Pounds of Oil.* After this, he or der'd the Preparations for his Triumph upon fou ſucceſſive Days; the firſt deſign'd for the Triump over *Gaul*, ſhew'd in a great many Tables the Nam of 300 Nations and 800 Cities, conquer'd by th Death of a Million of Foes, whom he had defeate in ſeveral Battels. The ſecond Triumph was ov *Ægypt*. The third ſhew'd the Defeat of *Pharnac* in *Aſia*. And the fourth that of King *Juba* in *frick*; which Triumphs were over Foreigners, n *Romans*. Here was the utmoſt Shew of Magnif cence, and all the *Roman* Soldiers follow'd their gre General, crown'd with Laurels, and in that Equi page he went to the *Capitol*, the Steps whereof h mounted upon his Knees, forty Elephants bein rang'd on each ſide, carrying great Candleſtick fill'd with Flambeaus. The Silver Veſſels, and St tues, of Goldſmiths Work, which were us'd in the Triumphs, amounted to 65000 Talents, which above twelve Millions of our Money, beſides 182 Crowns of Gold, weighing 15033 *lb.* which wer Preſents that the Princes and Cities had made hi after his Victories, according to the Cuſtoms of thos Times. Out of theſe Summs he paid his Soldier beſides what he had promis'd 'em in the beginnin of the Civil Wars. To every one 150 Pounds our Money, as much more to the Centurions, an twice as much as that to the Tribunes and Com manders of the Cavalry; and for their Retreat af ter the Wars, he gave 'em Inheritances in ſeveral Places ſeparated from *Italy*. The People alſo were ſenſible of his Bounty; for he diſtributed to each particular Perſon ten Buſhels of Corn, and ten Pounds of Oil, and added 100 *Denarii* to the 300 he had promis'd 'em before. After this he nobly entertain'd the whole People at 22000 ſeveral Tables

d that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp Magnificence of theſe Feaſts, he caus'd 2000 ladiators to fight before the People, and make Reeſentations of Sea and Land-Fights of four or five houſand Men of a ſide, beſides all ſorts of Plays nd Shows. Theſe Entertainments drew ſo many eople to *Rome*, that the greateſt Part of them ere forc'd to lie in the open Air, and a great may were ſtifled in the Preſs; among the reſt, two enators.

Many great Honours were after this conferr'd pon *Cæſar*, among which was that of *Maſter of Manners*, as if the Name of *Cenſor* was too mean, or three Years; all joining to ſhew their great Forardneſs in preferring him, ſome out of Love and eſpect, others out of Fear and Flattery: And indeed many began to dread the Severities of *Marius* nd *Sylla*; but *Cæſar*'s extraordinary Civility to both arties, and the Greatneſs of his Nature, in a great eaſure freed 'em from any ſuch Fears. He began ow to ſettle the Commonwealth, and make many new Laws: He committed the Power of Judiature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone; and both y Laws and his own Care, he reſtrain'd the proſe way of living of rich Perſons. And becauſe he City was manifeſtly exhauſted, by reaſon of Multitudes quitting it, he propos'd Rewards to all uch as had many Children. Then conſidering that y his long Command in *Gaul*, he himſelf had Opportunity of eſtabliſhing an extraordinary Power, y a Law he ordain'd, That no *Prætor* ſhou'd command above a Year in his Province, nor a *Conſul* bove two Years after the expiring of his Office. Moreover, to ſhew that nothing ſhou'd eſcape his Care, he undertook to regulate the *Roman* Year, which was at this time very much confounded; and tho' *Numa*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, had beſtow'd much Pains about it, yet ſtill the Reckoning accord-

ing

ing to Lunar Months, and the odd eleven Days and a quarter, caus'd a great many Inconveniences. Whereupon *Cæsar*, after his consulting the most able Astronomers, being also himself very well instructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the Course of the Sun, allotting to each Year 365 Days, and adding one Day more every fourth Year, which was called the *Bissextile*; and this is the Method which we to this Day follow, and goes still by the Name of the *Julian Account* and the *Old Stile*, whereas the *New Stile* is call'd the *Gregorian Account*. In this same Year flourish'd *Catullus* the Poet, one of the principal *Epigrammatists* of all the *Romans*.

IV. While *Cæsar* was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the two Sons of *Pompey* had fortify'd themselves in *Spain*; and as the People still passionately affected the Memory of their Father, they soon gather'd together a powerful Army; they also had very good Officers, and among the rest *Labienus*, which oblig'd *Cæsar* to go in Person to oppose their Proceedings; tho' not without some Unwillingness, by reason that his beloved Mistress *Cleopatra* was now at *Rome*. He was now just made Consul again, and likewise *Dictator* for another Year; and *Lepidus*, who was Consul with him, he chose for his *Master of the Horse*. *Cæsar* proceeded in his Expedition with his wonted Vigour and Celerity, and arriv'd in *Spain* before the Enemy so much as imagin'd it. *Cneius*, the eldest of the two *Pompeys*, had laid Siege to the City of *Ulla*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Corduba* with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar*, to raise the Siege, and to give some Jealousy to *Cneius*, advanc'd towards *Corduba*, which occasion'd him to raise the Siege before *Ulla*, and come and oppose *Cæsar*; but *Cæsar* finding he could not draw him to a Battel, went and invested *Attegua*,

Dic. lxxiv. *Annual.* *U. C.* 709.

a, a Place of great Importance, and full of Provi-ions. This Siege laſted ſome conſiderable time, and he *Pompeys* endeavour'd to throw in Succours into he Town, but in vain, till at laſt it was conſtrain'd o capitulate. *Cæſar* being Maſter of this, ſeveral o-her Places ſubmitted to him; and the *Pompeys* march-ng up and down, and fearing the reſt ſhou'd revolt, were reſolv'd to come to a general Battel, their Army being now encamp'd in the Plains of *Munda*, and *Cæſar*'s not far diſtant.

Both Generals were equally impatient to come to an Engagement, ſo that *Cneius* drew up his Men by Break of Day, well poſting himſelf upon a Hill, and the Exactneſs of their Order ſhew'd his Troops to great Advantage, eſpecially his Cavalry, who were very well arm'd. *Cæſar* with great Art drew up his Troops likewiſe, and after he had advanc'd a little Diſtance from his Trenches, made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come down from the Hill. This Delay made *Cæſar*'s Soldiers begin to murmur, and ſo encourag'd thoſe of *Cneius*, that they advanced upon the declining Part of the Hill; ſo both ſides gave a Shout, and the Battel began. This was extraordinary ſharp and dreadful on both ſides, thoſe on *Cæſar*'s ſide were extreamly incited by the Hopes of putting an end to all their Labours by this Battel; and thoſe on *Pompey*'s ſide fought out of Neceſſity and Deſperation, moſt of 'em expecting no Pardon, as having their Lives formerly given 'em, when they had been overthrown with *Afranius* and *Petreius*. The firſt Shock was manag'd on both ſides with ſo much Courage, that *Cæſar*'s Men, who had been almoſt always us'd to conquer, found here a Stop put to their Fierceneſs; the Battel continu'd for many Hours very obſtinate, and *Cæſar* was never in ſo great Danger as now; he threw himſelf ſeveral times with great Rage and Fury amongſt the midſt of the Enemy, crying out to his Men, and ask-

asking 'em, *If they were not asham'd to deliver him into the hands of Boys?* So well did he encourage them by his Speeches, but much more by a thousand brave and noble Actions which he perform'd himself; that at last with much Difficulty and a long time, he overthrew the Enemy, and kill'd 30000 upon the Spot. This Battel was so fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *That at all other Places he fought for his Glory but at* Munda *for his Life.*

All his Ensigns were taken, and *Varus* and *Labienus* slain in the Battel. *Cneius* with 150 Horse escap'd to *Carteia*, from whence, thinking to save himself by Sea, he was forc'd by *Didius*, *Cæsar*'s Lieutenant, to return to Land, and being besieg'd within a Tower was attack'd so vigorously, that he was forsaken by his People, and slain in a Cave where he had hid himself. But his Brother *Sextus* escaping from Corduba, so well conceal'd himself, that *Cæsar* cou'd not find him. All *Spain* immediately submitted to *Cæsar*, and he exacted great Contributions from all the Enemies Cities, under Pretence of punishing their Rebellion. After which he return'd to *Rome* with great Joy and Satisfaction, that he had at last brought under Submission that Commonwealth which gave Laws to the greatest Part of the World. He entered *Rome* in Triumph; but this Triumph was by no means attended with any joyful Acclamations of the People, who were much concern'd to see the Memory of their belov'd *Pompey* insulted over, and the Race almost extirpated of one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. But *Cæsar* did it the rather upon the account of bringing the *Roman* Dominions into Peace and Subjection, and the perfect Finishing the Civil War; which tho' it continu'd not much above four Years, had been so destructive to the *Roman* People, that at a *Census* just before *Cæsar*'s last Expedition, there were found but one hundred and fifty thousand Heads of Families in

Rome,

me, whereas in that *Luſtrum* before, there were ree hundred and twenty thouſand.

V. *Cæſar* had now rais'd himſelf far above all mans, and above all Mortals in that Age, by his onderful Acts, having ſubdu'd and conquer'd the ſt Parts of the World, in almoſt as ſhort a time others cou'd reaſonably travel thoſe Countries. nd now the Senate again began to confer new onours upon him, and thoſe greater than ever: hey made him *Dictator in perpetuum*, Conſul for ten ears, ſubjected all Magiſtrates, even *Plebeian*, to his ower, and ordain'd that he alone ſhou'd command e Armies, and raiſe Money; which made him overeign Prince or King in effect. Among other itles he had that of *Deliverer* given him, and ſo as enter'd in the *Faſti*, and a Temple erected to iberty; but above all, that of *Imperator*; not in that nſe as Generals were wont to have it given 'em their Soldiers after ſome worthy Exploit; but as ſignify'd the greateſt Authority in the Common-ealth. From this *Julius* was deriv'd the Name of perator or *Emperor*, as likewiſe that of *Cæſar* to his ucceſſors; and this was the firſt beginning of the perial State of *Rome*, tho' it was not perfectly ſet-d till ſome Years after. *Cæſar* was likewiſe made nſor for his Life-time, ſo that now moſt of the agiſtracies ſeem'd to center in him. As for the onſulſhip, he diveſted himſelf of that for a certain me, and created *Fabius* and *Trebonius* Conſuls for the eſt of the Year, of whom it happen'd that *Fabius* y'd the laſt Day of his Magiſtracy, and *Cæſar* ſub-ituted *Canivius* for the remaining Hours; where-pon *Cicero* jeſtingly writ in one of his Epiſtles, *That uring the Conſulſhip of* Canivius, *not a Man din'd; yet o Harm was committed in that time, for he was wonder-ully vigilant, and ne'er ſlept throughout his whole Con-ulſhip.* From this time forward the Conſulſhip grew cheaper,

*Di.*lxxv. Perpetual. *U. C.* 709.

Imperator.

cheaper, and few held it a whole Year, eſpecially when all its Authority and ancient Dignity, was in a manner, ſwallow'd up by the *Imperial* Power ſoon after.

Thus *Cæſar* had order'd the Conſulſhip, but for other Magiſtrates he pretended he wou'd not concern himſelf with 'em, but leave 'em to the People to be nam'd, according to the ancient Cuſtom; but it prov'd only a Pretence, for he made them himſelf, and ſent 'em into the Provinces without the ancient way of *Sortition*. In other Magiſtrates the ſame Number was obſerv'd; only the *Prætors* upon the account of the Largeneſs of the *Roman* Dominions were encreaſed to ſixteen, and the *Quæſtors* to forty. Beſides he had no other way to gratify thoſe to whom he had made large Promiſes, and this caus'd him to admit many into the Senate without diſtinction, whether the Perſon was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by Original; ſo that the Number of the Senate, by this means, aroſe to nine hundred. Many he alſo brought into the Rank of *Patritians*, *Conſulares*, and of thoſe who had born other Offices, which became a Cuſtom to thoſe who were afterwards *Emperors*. To his Friends he gave much away both in Money and Lands, which was very pleaſing to them who made their Deſigns; but others took it very heinouſly, and teſtify'd their Reſentments either by Words or Libels. The Management of Publick Money was now tranſlated from the *Quæſtors* to the *Ædiles*, and afterwards returned no more to 'em, but at length was committed to Perſons of *Prætorian* Dignity. Six *Ædiles* were alſo made, of which two were *Patritians*, called *Curules*, and four *Plebeians*.

16 *Prætors.*

40 *Quæſtors.*

900 *Senators.*

6 *Ædiles.*

U. C. 710. For the following Year *Cæſar* enter'd upon the Conſulſhip again with *Anthony*, who was likewiſe his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and now he more cloſely apply'd himſelf to the Buſineſs of the Common-

wealth

ealth than ever. He firſt took care to pardon all ch as had been in Arms againſt him, and greatly 'd the Cruelty of *Sylla*, and thereby obtain'd as eat a Name for Clemency, as before he had for lour. Then, to ſhew his generous Temper, he us'd *Pompey*'s Statues to be ſet up again, to ſhew t he eſteem'd a Great Soul and a Magnanimous irit, even in his greateſt Enemy; which occaſi- 'd *Cicero* to obſerve in his Writing, *That* Cæſar *by toring* Pompey's *Statues ſecur'd his own.* In this ſe- nd *Julian* Year, his Collegue *Anthony* procur'd by a w, that the Month *Quintilis* ſhou'd in Honour of Name be afterwards call'd *July*; and many o- r Laws were made. In the mean time, as he was ways belov'd by thoſe who were greateſt in the nate; tho' his Ordinances had no other Deſign an the Publick Good, they forbore not to viliſie n by their Raileries. Now, tho' *Cæſar* had Infor- tions of their ſeveral Diſcourſes, he bore it all with great a Moderation, that when ſome other Peo- had yet the Boldneſs to violate his Reputation Libels, he never ſo much as enquir'd after them. l his Deſigns ſhew'd the Greatneſs of his Soul; he de a Propoſition for adorning of the City of *Rome* th a magnificent Temple conſecrated to *Mars*, d with a Theatre, and likewiſe the building of a w *Curia* or *Pariſh* to be call'd *Julia*. He rebuilt *rthage* and *Corinth*, ſending Colonies to both Ci- s: He undertook to level ſeveral Mountains in ly, to drain the *Pontine* Marſhes near *Rome*, and empty the Lakes, Works of prodigious Charge; d likewiſe deſign'd to dig through the *Iſthmus Peloponneſus* by *Corinth*. After theſe he deſign'd an pedition againſt the *Parthians*, to revenge the death *Craſſus*, and they being conquer'd, to enter thro' *rcania*, along the Banks of the *Caſpian Sea* into *ythia*, to open himſelf a Way thro' *Germany* in- *Gaul*, and ſo return to *Rome*: But all theſe vaſt

De-

Deſigns ſoon came to an end, enjoying his Sov-
reign Authority but five Months.

Cæſar's good Fortune, which had appear'd by
many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, ſu-
ported by the Affection of the People, and the Lo-
of his Soldiers, had now rais'd him to a Degree
bove all other *Romans*. But as it uſually happens
Commonwealths, where every one valuing himſ
upon his own Merit, looks upon abſolute Comm
as a Right which he one day in his turn may p
tend to; ſo it was now, for that his extraordin
Advancement daily brought upon him the Jealo
of the Senators. In the mean time, in an extra
gant manner they continually flatter'd his Van
with new Honours, preferring him in his Life-ti
in ſome ſort among the Gods, and declaring
Perſon ſacred and inviolable. They gave him
Title of *Father of his Country*, ſtamp'd Money wi
his Image, order'd Publick Sacrifices on his Bir
day, and his Statue to be ſet up in all Cities, and
all the Temples at *Rome*. Some Authors ha
reported that he procur'd theſe Honours by
Authority; others, that they were freely beſto
upon him. However, his accepting of all that
offer'd him, caus'd him much Hatred from ma
which was diſcover'd more plainly one Day, wh
the Senate had decreed him ſome new Hono
and came all in a Body to the Temple of *Ve*
where he was, to acquaint him with their Decr
and he, whether out of a Miſtake or Deſign,
not up, but receiv'd 'em ſitting; which Negl
much offended the Senators, and caus'd 'em to
very freely and publickly about it, particularly
ing, *That he plainly affected the Title of King.* He h
indeed the Power in effect, but only wanted
Name, which was odious to the *Romans*. *Ca*
who well knew the Effects of that Averſion, v
cautiouſly defended himſelf from that Odium;
o

e Day, when ſome People call'd him *Lord* and *King*, made anſwer, *That he was* Cæſar. Nevertheleſs, often let ſome Diſcourſes fall, which much pro-oted the Belief People had of his Ambition; par-ularly, *That a Republick was nothing but a meer Name d Notion, and that* Sylla *had diſcover'd great Ignorance laying down the Office of* Dictator.

Cæſar ſhortly after gave a freſh occaſion of Suſpi-on to the People, by his diſplacing the *Tribunes* for priſoning ſome Perſons who had put Diadems up-his Statues. And by another Inſtance ſoon after ſtill more plainly perceiv'd the Affections of the eople, at the Celebration of the Feaſts call'd *Lu-rcalia*, where he himſelf aſſiſted at the Show, ſeat-upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and his riumphal Ornaments. *Anthony* paſſing thro' the eople, who open'd to make him way, went up to e Tribunal, and preſented a Crown to *Cæſar*; ſome app'd their Hands as if they approv'd of it, but hen *Cæſar* put the Crown back, there was a general pplauſe: *Anthony* offer'd it a ſecond time, but ſtill ith as little marks of Satisfaction from the People; *eſar* again refus'd it, which was follow'd with loud cclamations on all ſides. *Cæſar*, who had laid this eſign before, now plainly underſtood their Senti-ents, and thereupon riſing, commanded the Crown be carry'd to the *Capitol*; nevertheleſs he was ſo oncern'd, and ſo little Maſter of his Diſorder, that e ſaid that Night to his Friends, *That he wou'd freely ffer his Throat to any Man that would cut it.* And tho' e had a thouſand Teſtimonies of the Hatred he y under, he ſo abandon'd himſelf to his Deſigns, hat from this moment he neglected all manner of eans of ſecuring himſelf againſt his Enemies. hen he was adviſ'd by ſome not to truſt *Brutus* o far, he open'd his Breaſt, ſaying, *Do you believe at* Brutus *cares for ſuch poor Pillage as this?* He was metimes heard to ſay, *That he had rather die once by*

Treaſon, than to be ſo miſerable as always to live in fear of it. And at another time, *That the Republick had more Intereſt in his Preſervation than himſelf; that he had gain'd Glory and Power enough; but after his Death, the Commonwealth wou'd be more harraſs'd with Civil War than ever it had been.* And one Day being at Supper with *Lepidus*, as his Friends diſputed among themſelves what Death was eaſieſt, he reply'd to 'em, *That which is moſt ſudden, and leaſt foreſeen.* He diſbanded his Company of *Spaniſh* Guards, and contented himſelf with the Protection of his Friends, which Proceeding of his much facilitated an Enterprize upon his Life ſoon after.

The Deſign upon *Cæſar*'s Life was carry'd on with extraordinary Caution and Secreſy, tho' above three-ſcore Senators enter'd into this Conſpiracy, the principal whereof was *Brutus*, whoſe Life *Cæſar* had ſav'd after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and *Caſſius* both *Prætors* at this time: The Name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome* ever ſince *Brutus* the firſt Conſul, under the Foot of whoſe Statue was found written, *Wou'd to Heaven thou wert alive*; and certain Billets were thrown into the *Prætor*'s Tribunal, in theſe Words, Brutus, *thou art aſleep, and not a true* Brutus. *Caſſius* was Author of moſt of theſe things, and he hated *Cæſar* upon ſeveral accounts, particularly for his naming *Brutus* the eldeſt *Prætor*, when he was above him in Age, and for his hindring him from giving a Publick Show to the People. His Behaviour towards *Cæſar* gave him ſufficient Reaſon to ſuſpect him; and when his Friends adviſ'd him to beware of *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, he told 'em, *That it was not thoſe perfum'd and plump Sparks that he diſtruſted, but thoſe pale and meagre Gentlemen.* Nevertheleſs he ſtill prepar'd for his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and caus'd ſixteen Legions to march, and 10000 Horſe for his Paſſage into *Aſia*. He deſign'd to depart four Days after, when the Conſpi-

rator

rators ſpread a Report, That according to the *Sibyll's* Oracles, the *Parthians* cou'd not be overcome but by a King; and upon this Pretence *Cotta* was to propoſe the giving him that Title to the Senate. *Caſſius* took this occaſion to go and viſit *Brutus*, demanding of him, *If he wou'd be at the Senate-Houſe when* Cæſar's *Friends were to propoſe the declaring of him King? Brutus* told him, *That he wou'd be abſent at that time. But*, reply'd *Caſſius*, *ſuppoſe you are call'd thither? Then*, anſwer'd *Brutus*, *I ſhould think it my Duty to ſpeak, oppoſe, yea, and die to, rather than part with the Liberty of* Rome. *Ah*, reply'd *Caſſius*, *what generous* Roman *wou'd ſuffer you to die for his Liberty? You are ignorant*, Brutus, *who you are, if you imagin that thoſe Billets thrown into the Tribunal came from leſs than the moſt Illuſtrious and Braveſt Men of* Rome. *From other* Prætors *they demand Games, Shows, and Plays, but from you, whoſe very Name is a Terror to Tyrants, they cry for the Ruin and Downfal of Arbitrary Power, being ready to expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt Hazards, in expectation of your auſpicious Aid.* After this Converſation they parted; but *Brutus* for ſome time after appear'd much diſcompos'd in his Thoughts, which occaſion'd his Wife *Porcia*, being in bed with him, earneſtly to enquire the Reaſon of his Trouble. *Brutus* fearing ſhe wou'd diſcloſe the Secret if urg'd to it by Torture, *Porcia* immediately wounded her ſelf on the Thigh, and with a Maſculine Courage let him ſee, *That ſhe fear'd no Torments, nor cou'd act any thing below* Cato's *Daughter*; by which means ſhe learn'd the whole Deſign, and became one of the Conſpiracy. The Name of *Brutus*, whoſe Perſon was much eſteem'd, engag'd a great many in the Conſpiracy; ſo they reſolv'd to put their Deſign in execution upon the very *Ides* of *March*, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies and Dreams foretold this Misfortune to *Cæſar*; and *Spurina*, a famous *Augur*,

told him, *That great Dangers threaten'd him upon the* Ides *of* March. He dreamt the ſame Night, that he was carry'd above the Clouds, and that he ſhook hands with *Jove*; and his Wife *Calpurnia* alſo dreamt, that her Husband was aſſaſſinated in her Arms, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the ſame time of their own accord with much Noiſe. This laſt Accident ſomewhat confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears prevail'd ſo, that he wou'd not go abroad that Day. But another *Brutus*, call'd *Decimus*, who was one of the Conſpirators, tho' of the Number of his intimate Friends, caus'd him to change his Reſolution, telling him, *He was much expected at the Senate, and it wou'd be a great Shame for him not to venture out of doors, but when it ſhou'd pleaſe* Calpurnia *to dream favourably*: So *Decimus* carry'd him almoſt by force out of his Lodgings; and as if every thing ſeem'd to contribute to his Deſtruction, a Slave, who came to give him Advice of the Conſpiracy, cou'd not get up to him, by reaſon of the Croud of People that ſurrounded him. *Artimedorus*, his Hoſt and Friend, having given him a Letter to the ſame purpoſe, he mingl'd it without reading of it, among other Papers that were given him: And *Lena*, who was one of the Conſpirators, entertaining him a conſiderable time in private as he came out of his Litter, the others, who believ'd themſelves diſcover'd, thought already of killing themſelves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena* quitting *Cæſar* and kiſſing his Hand, gave them to underſtand, that he thank'd him for ſome Favour which he came to obtain.

The Aſſembly of the Senate was at this time held in a Place which *Pompey* had built for that purpoſe, and from thence was call'd the *Court* or *Hall* of *Pompey*, where was to be ſeen his Statue in Marble, rais'd upon a Pedeſtal. *Cæſar*, as he was entring, met *Spu-*

rina,

na, and ſmiling, told him, *The* Ides *of* March were *me*: *Yes*, reply'd the *Augur*, *but they are not paſt*. As oon as he had taken his Place, the Conſpirators ov'd towards him under Pretence of ſaluting him, nd *Tullius Cymber* approach'd to ask Pardon for his rother who was then in Exile: *Cæſar* deferr'd the atter, and put back *Cymber*, who preſs'd upon him far as to take hold on both ſides of his Robe; and hen *Cæſar* cry'd out, *That this was Violence*, *Caſca*, ho ſtood behind him, gave him the firſt Stab with Poniard nigh the Shoulder; but the Weapon glan-ing, the Wound was not mortal. *Cæſar* ſtruck *Caſca* hrough the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Vile raitor*, *what do you mean?* *Caſca*, on the other ſide, all'd his Brother, and *Cæſar* wou'd have rais'd him-elf, but he receiv'd a mortal Wound in his Breaſt; nd all the Conſpirators charg'd upon him together ith ſo much Fury, that many of 'em were wounded hemſelves. He nevertheleſs made great Reſiſtance, uſhing and leaping among 'em like a Lion, till per-eiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his Hand, he ſtrug-led no more, but cry'd, *What*, *my Son* Brutus, *and hou too?* Then covering his Face with his Robe, nd drawing his Skirts down to his Knees, that he ight fall decently, he ſunk down at the Foot of *Pompey*'s Statue, having receiv'd Three and twenty Wounds, and the reſt of the Senate looking on with Wonder and Amazement, not being able to aſſiſt im.

Thus fell the Great *Julius Cæſar*, in the 56th Year f his Age, in the Court of Pompey, and at the Feet f *Pompey*'s Statue; a Perſon of the greateſt Soul, the moſt magnanimous Spirit, and of the moſt wonder-ul Accompliſhments and Abilities that *Rome*, or per-haps the World, ever ſaw; whether we conſider him n his Care and Vigilance, in his Valour and Con-duct, or in his Knowledge and Learning; all which noble Qualities made him belov'd and reverenc'd by

the People, honour'd and ador'd by his Friends, and esteem'd and admir'd even by his Enemies. And letting aside his Ambition, which was the Fault of the Times as well as his Temper, he was never much, or justly tax'd with any great Vice, but that of Women. His Death put an end to the first *Triumvirate*, or rather the Power occasion'd by the first *Triumvirate*, but did not re-establish the Consular Authority, nor restore the Liberty of the Commonwealth, but occasion'd its Ruin shortly after, with as great Miseries as *Rome* ever suffer'd. It hapned in the 710*th* Year of the City, *A. M.* 3961. about 16 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 42 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Cæsar, *to the Defeats of and Deaths of* Brutus *and* Cassius, *by the second* Triumvirate, Octavius, Anthony, *and* Lepidus; *which ruin'd all the Remains of the* Common-wealth.

Containing the Space of above Two Years.

U. C. 710. I. UPon the Death of *Cæsar*, so great a Confusion and Disorder hapned among the Senate and People of *Rome*, that the Conspirators soon perceiv'd that their Fact was not like to meet with the general Approbation which some expected. All the Senators, who were not Accomplices, fled with such haste and precipitation from the Assembly, that some of 'em were in danger of their Lives as they press'd out

out of doors; and the People, alarm'd at the News left all their ſeveral Employments, ran tumultuouſly about all Parts of the City, ſome for Information, ſome for Safety, and others for Plunder. Which Diſturbances caus'd the Conſpirators all to retire to the *Capitol*, to which they were guarded by a conſiderable number of Gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus*: What they gave out to juſtify themſelves to the People was *Liberty*; but that Pretence was not much regarded by them, for they had been ſo uſed to ſubmit of late, and were ſo chang'd from their ancient jealous and vigorous Temper, that they much more dreaded the Effects of Poverty than Subjection. *Anthony*, now Conſul, and *Lepidus*, were extremely enrag'd at *Cæſar*'s Death, and were reſolv'd to revenge it to the utmoſt; therefore the latter immediately got to a Legion of his juſt by, and led 'em into the *Campus Martius*, where *Anthony* as Conſul commanded 'em. This much ſurpriz'd the Conſpirators, and put 'em upon ſending Deputies to *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, deſiring 'em, *To conſider the ſad Conſequences of a Diviſion at this time; that no Hatred to* Cæſar's *Perſon had put them upon that Deſign, but only their hearty Loves to their Country, which had already been ſo drain'd by Civil Wars, that any new Diſunion muſt carry off the miſerable Remainder; that they believ'd them alſo too generous to let any particular Hatred tranſport them to the Prejudice of the Publick.* *Anthony* began to conſider, that *Decimus*, who was now Governor of the *Hither Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerful Army, therefore he reſolv'd to gain what time he cou'd, and endeavour'd to get over *Decimus*'s Soldiers; and for that reaſon return'd anſwer, *That tho' their Honours and their Oaths had engag'd 'em to revenge* Cæſar's *Death, and tho' they thought it more honourable to live without Reproach among a few good Men, than to draw upon themſelves the Miſeries due to Falſhood; yet they were not obſtinate, but were content to have the Se-*

nate assembl'd, that they might be govern'd by so many illustrious and discerning Persons: Which Answer was receiv'd with much Satisfaction.

The Senate was immediately call'd, where a great many Debates arose, and several Opinions were urg'd, which at last terminated in this, *That they had but two things to chuse, either to declare* Cæsar *a Tyrant, or that his Murderers stood in need of Pardon. Anthony* industriously oppos'd the former, urging, *That if the Memory of* Cæsar *were condemn'd, all his Orders ought to be cancell'd; and that wou'd be in effect to proclaim so many illustrious Men as he had rais'd, unworthy of their Honours; which, besides drawing upon themselves the Contempt of other Nations, wou'd infallibly turn to the Confusion of the Common-wealth.* After many violent Heats and Disturbances in the House, and great Tumults at the Doors, the Senate at last past an Act of Oblivion for all what was past, and ratify'd *Cæsar*'s Ordinances; with this Reason enter'd, *Because it was requisite for the Good of the Common-wealth.* This Act of Oblivion brought Matters to a more peaceable Posture; but *Anthony* finding the People much discontented, resolv'd to pursue his Revenge upon the Conspirators, tho' he was seemingly reconcil'd to 'em. The next Day therefore he order'd *Cæsar*'s Will to be publickly read before the Body of the People, which he knew wou'd have a considerable Influence upon 'em; which Danger the Conspirators had been so sensible of, that they us'd their utmost Endeavour to hinder its being read. In the Will it appear'd that *Octavius* the Grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s Sister, was adopted to take upon him his Name, and constituted Heir of three Parts in four of all his Estate, and *Pinarius* and *Pedius* of the other fourth Part. To the *Roman* People he left the Gardens which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen in particular, a certain Sum of Money. Among his second Heirs, who were to inherit in case of Mortality,

lity, he ſubſtituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conſpirators. Several others alſo who had dipp'd their hands in his Blood, were nam'd for Guardians for his Son in caſe he had left one. Theſe Tokens of *Cæſar*'s Goodneſs, and his great Affection for the People, began to move the Multitude extreamly; but *Brutus*'s being an Heir, provok'd the Indignation of the whole Aſſembly.

Immediately after this, *Cæſar*'s Body was brought forth with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, being born by ſome of the moſt Illuſtrious of the Senate: It was ſet down in the middle of the *Forum*, with a Guard of Soldiers; in which place was erected a little Temple of gilded Wood according to the Model of that of *Venus*; and in this Temple was a Bed of Ivory, magnificently adorn'd with Curtains of Gold and Purple Trophies, and the Robe that he wore when he was aſſaſſinated. All the People ran haſtily to ſee this Sight, weeping and lamenting afreſh, and thoſe who bore Arms made deep Complaints, as if they demanded Vengeance. *Anthony* aſcending the Place, began *Cæſar*'s Funeral Oration in this manner; Romans, *tho' I alone preſent my ſelf to celebrate the Memory of this great Man, whoſe Body you ſee thus mangl'd here before ye, yet I can read in each Man's Look the Affections of his Mind, and the Thoughts of his Heart, which give nobler Praiſes than my Tongue can expreſs: So that when I ſhall recount to you the Extent of his glorious Actions, the Variety of his Noble Virtues, and the Number of the deſerved Honours which the Senate and You have conferr'd upon him, I ſhall not be ſo much the Publiſher of my own Sentiments, as the Interpreter of Yours.* Then he mention'd all his Titles of Honour, his Dictatorſhip, his ſeveral Conſulſhips, with the moſt deſerving Name of *Father of his Country*; from whence he proceeded to his Virtues, praiſing his generous Courage, his exquiſite Learning, his free Spirit, and above all, his unbounded

Cle-

Clemency. After which he repeated the Oath whi the People of *Rome* had made to *Cæsar*, by whi they swore, *That his Person should be Sacred and Invio ble, and call'd the Gods to witness that they would defe it with the hazard of their Lives.* But observing so alteration in several of the Senators, he conclud with saying, *That what had been done, ought rather to forgotten, since it was the Crime of some Infernal Spir Enemies to* Rome, *rather than Men; and nothing ou further to be thought of, than the honouring the Memory this Illustrious Hero, and placing him among the Immor Gods.*

At the End of this Oration, one of the princi Attendants, as if some Fury had possess'd him, t off *Cæsar*'s Robe from the Trophy, and shew'd it the People, crying out, *That it was the Spoil of a P son belov'd of the Gods, and reverenc'd by the World e to Adoration.* This and several other things he spo in a most moving Tone, using many great Outcr and strange Postures of Sorrow, which extream stirr'd up the People's Compassion. At the sa time was expos'd *Cæsar*'s Image in Wax, whi mov'd it self by Springs, and shew'd the seve Wounds which he had receiv'd upon his Face and his Body, and this Sight transported the People ev to Madness, and made 'em cry out, *That they wo inflict the most cruel Punishments, and execute the m dreadful Revenges upon the Heads of all his Murther* Upon the lighting of the Pile, all the old Soldi who had serv'd under him, with an unexpres Grief threw into the Fire all their Coronets, Pik Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honours which had given 'em. A great many Ladies of Qual also threw in their Children's Robes and Ornamen with every thing they had of Value about 'em. T People ran and tore up the Benches and Seats of t Magistrates just by, and after that with flami Brands from the Pile, ran desperately to set fire

he Conſpirators Houſes; and meeting with one *inna*, whom they miſtook for another of that Name, hey immediately tore him in a thouſand Pieces. he Conſpirators themſelves being of the greateſt amilies, and well guarded, with no great trouble, epuls'd the People; but nevertheleſs ſo great was the age and Threats of the People, that they thought much more ſafe to retire from the City. All the trangers in *Rome* mourn'd after their Cuſtoms, and ore particularly the *Jews*, who watch'd ſeveral ights at *Cæſar*'s Pile. At laſt Divine Honours were iven him, and an Altar erected in the Place of his urning, where *Octavius Cæſar*, afterwards call'd *Auuſtus*, caus'd a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of aſper, twenty Foot high, with this Inſcription: *To he Father of his Country.*

At the ſame time that *Cæſar* was kill'd, his Heir nd adopted Son *Octavius*, afterwards call'd *Auguus*, was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, who upon the firſt ews of the Murther, notwithſtanding the earneſt dvice of his Friends to ſecure himſelf there, reurn'd to *Rome* with all ſpeed, with a full Reſolutin to revenge his Death; not queſtioning but to nd *Anthony* both a Friend and Aſſiſtant in this Deign. But *Anthony* now was ſo much chang'd, and o buſily employ'd in his Projects of raiſing and adancing himſelf, that he cou'd hearken but little to uch a Propoſal; and when *Octavius* publickly declar'd himſelf *Cæſar*'s Heir, and demanded his Moey of *Anthony*, or at leaſt ſome part of it, he reeiv'd him with great Coldneſs, and Contempt of is Youth, refuſing to give him any upon ſeveral retences. Yet neither *Anthony*'s Repulſes, nor his riends Advices to the contrary, cou'd ſtop *Octaius* from purſuing his Deſigns, who was now bout Eighteen Years old, of a great Wit, a lofty ind, and of a moſt inſinuating Converſation, and ad a Face ſo Comely and Graceful, that it acquir'd

him

him a Veneration from all Men. That he might b certain to gain the People's Hearts, he ſold all h Inheritance to pay off the Legacies given 'em by h Uncle *Cæſar*'s Will, which procur'd him much Lov and *Cæſar*'s old Soldiers flock'd to him in conſiderab Numbers, whom he accepted of out of Fear to *A thony*, who daily became more ſuſpicious both to th Senate and People. *Octavius* manag'd his Affai with ſo much Skill and Dexterity, that thoſe wh before admir'd at his Boldneſs of oppoſing *Anthon* were now as much ſurpriz'd at his extraordinary A dreſs and Authority. *Anthony*, on the other ſide, b ing ſenſible of the paſſionate Affection the People ha for *Pompey*, to curry Favour, propos'd the promotin *Sextus* his only ſurviving Son; that in requital of h Father's Eſtate confiſcated, he might have an A lowance out of the Publick, and the ſame Com mand of the Seas and Navy that his Father former had. This was receiv'd with great Applauſe, an ſtrait enacted; ſo *Pompey* was call'd back into *Sic ly*, where he afterwards manag'd a ſharp War again *Octavius*.

Anthony was ſtill reſtleſs, and reſolv'd, if it we poſſible, to procure ſome Province to be aſſign'd hi that he might get the greater Authority; and th Difference daily increaſing between him and *Oct vius*, he deſir'd to command the ſix Legions whic lay in *Macedonia*, and obtain'd them by deceivin the Senate with a falſe Rumour, that the *Getæ* hea ing of *Cæſar*'s Death, had invaded that Province And becauſe the Senate ſhew'd great Unwillingne to this Demand, and more Jealouſy of his Powe he endeavour'd to ſatisfie 'em, by preferring a La againſt any Man's being *Dictator* for the future, an making it Death for any to offer at it. Theſe L gions he deſign'd to bring over into *Italy* to aw and command all; and the better to effect this, h preferr'd another Law for changing of Province

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nd by that procur'd *Macedonia* for his Brother C. *An-nius*, which had been aſſign'd to *M. Brutus*, and he *Hither Gaul* for himſelf, which had been allotted o *Decimus Brutus*. The Senate wou'd by no means dmit of this Demand, but ſent to *D. Brutus*, *to trengthen himſelf againſt the Pretenſions of* Anthony; hich caus'd *Anthony* to betake himſelf to the People, here partly by Force, and partly by Bribes, he ob-ain'd it. But ſtill he was not altogether ſo ſucceſs-ul as he expected; for his daily Quarrels with *Octa-ius*, and his little Care of revenging *Cæſar*'s Death, ain'd him the Hatred of his Soldiers; ſo that when e had brought over his Legions, two of 'em went ver to *Octavius*, who now was very buſy in going hrough all *Italy*, and gathering together Soldiers out f the Colonies which his Uncle had planted. At ength *Anthony* with a conſiderable Army march'd nto *Gaul*, from whence he commanded *Decimus Bru-us* to depart, who gave way to him for ſome time; ut at laſt retreated to *Mutina*, where *Anthony* ſoon fter ſtraitly beſieg'd him: And thus a new War roke out in about three quarters of a Year after *Cæſar*'s Death.

II. About this time new Conſuls were made, which were *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, both great Friends of *Julius Cæſar*, as well as Intimates of *Cicero*, the former of hich ſerv'd under *Cæſar*, and gave the relation of he Wars of *Ægypt* and *Africk*, which is annex'd to is Commentaries. Upon their aſſembling the Se-ate, *Anthony* was declar'd Enemy to the State, but ſpecially by *Cicero*'s means, who now had made any ingenious and ſevere Invectives againſt him, hich, in imitation of *Demoſthenes*, he publiſh'd un-er the Name of *Philippicks*. This prov'd of great dvantage towards the bringing in, and preferring oung *Octavius*; for tho' the Senate, as being gene-ally of *Pompey*'s Faction, had little or no Eſteem for him, *U. C.* 711.

him, yet they resolv'd to make use of him for
Army's sake, and upon that account erected h
a Statue, made him a Senator, tho' at this Age, c
creed that he shou'd be consider'd as ten Years old
in respect of Publick Preferment, and likewise ga
him equal Power and Authority with the Co
suls themselves, whom they sent with all speed
relieve *Decimus*, now besieg'd by *Anthony*. Tho' t
Senate had oblig'd *Octavius* by these Honours, y
their promoting and giving Provinces to all
Conspirators, much more displeas'd him; and
Letter from *Anthony*, upbraiding him *with advanc*
and assisting Cæsar's *Murderers*, gave him great Scr
ples; but concealing his Designs with a Pruden
surpassing his Age, he march'd with the Consu
The Consuls in a short time took *Bononia*, and *A*
thony shortly after meeting *Pansa*, overthrew hi
but returning carelessly to his Camp, was worsted
Hirtius. Not many Days after, a general Bat
was fought nigh *Mutina*, wherein *Anthony* with mu
Difficulty, and great Bloodshed, was defeated, a
fled to *Lepidus*, who then commanded in the furth
Gaul. Both the Consuls dy'd of their Woun
Pansa first advising *Octavius* to join with *Anthon*
and *Decimus* being at this time spar'd, tho' not pa
don'd, by *Octavius*, thought of getting to *Brutus* a
Cassius, now in *Greece*; but his Soldiers, not plea
with the Journey, went over part to *Octavius*, a
part to *Anthony*; and himself, endeavouring with
few Attendants to pass thro' *Gaul*, was taken a
betray'd at *Aquileia* by *Sequanus* Governor of t
Country, who sent his Head to *Anthony*. This w
the End of one of the chief Conspirators, whi
was attended with the Deaths of *Trebonius* and *Basil*
much about the same time; the former, excludi
Dolabella from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, by reason t
Senate had declar'd him an Enemy, was taken
him, and, after grievous Torments, had his Head c

ff, which the Soldiers kick'd about after a moſt ontemptuous manner; and the latter was murder'd y his own Slaves, whom before he had us'd very everely.

Octavius gain'd much Reputation in theſe Wars, ut the Senate now finding little or no occaſion for im, ſlighted him extreamly, and decreed all the Ho- our that he gain'd, to *Decimus*, whom he had re- ev'd; beſides, they gave him many detracting and eproachful Words, and deny'd him a Triumph when e demanded it. From this moment he reſolv'd to in with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, ſending back all the riſoners taken at the Battel of *Mutina* without Ran- om; for ſince the Senators were moſt againſt his Uncle, he cou'd not revenge his Death without ſome ew Aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time that he wrote o theſe two, he ſent 400 of his Soldiers into the ity, in the Name of his Army, to demand the onſulſhip for him. The Senate was as ready to eny him as the other two were to join with him; hich caus'd *Octavius* to ſend for *Anthony* and *Lepi- us* into *Italy*. The News of their Approach, and the Head of ſeventeen Legions, ſo terrify'd and artl'd the Senate, that they immmediately declar'd *avius* Conſul with *Pedius*; but upon the ſudden rrival of ſome new Troops, they as ſoon repeal'd eir Decree again; and never was the Senate of ome ſo diſtracted between different Intereſts, and guilty of Irreſolution, as at this time. Theſe new roops not anſwering their Expectations, the Senate gain decreed him Conſul, and moreover advanc'd im above all Example: They decreed that after his onſulſhip he ſhould take place of all Conſuls, and o' formerly they were diſpleas'd with his levying orces, as being a private Man, now they deſir'd im to encreaſe his Army, and order'd him the Le- ons of *Decimus*. The City was likewiſe commit- d to his Care, and Power given him to act what

he

he pleas'd, tho' without the Preſcript of the Law which he retain'd to his Death. So that *Octavi* now with no great difficulty procur'd Laws to con demn *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with their ſeveral Accom plices, and likewiſe to cancel thoſe Decrees mad againſt *Dolabella*, and other of his Friends.

In a ſhort time after *Octavius*'s Conſulſhip, *Anth ny* and *Lepidus* arriv'd in *Italy*, where *Octavius* me 'em nigh *Mutina*, and after three Days Conferenc enter'd into a ſtrict Combination with them; i which it was agreed, *That* Octavius *ſhould quit h Conſulſhip, and leave the Title to* Ventidius, Anthony *great Friend: That the Supreme Authority ſhou'd be div ded between theſe three, which they ſhou'd keep for the ſpa of five years under the Name of* Triumviri, *and in Qu lity of the* Reformers of the Common-wealth: *Th they ſhould cauſe that Authority to be confirm'd by the* Ro man *People: That* Anthony *ſhould have all* Gaul, *ex cept* Narbon, *which* Lepidus *was to have with* Spain *and* Octavius *ſhould have* Africk, *with* Sicily *and* Sa dinia: Italy *and the* Eaſtern *Provinces were for a whi to remain in Common.* In this manner did theſe Me divide the World between 'em, as if it had bee their Inheritance. They further agreed, *That their Enemies ſhould be deſtroy'd*; and in this the Ca of *Cicero* caus'd the greateſt Controverſie; for *Anth ny*, his implacable Enemy, wou'd conſent to n thing till his Death was determin'd: *Lepidus* was co tent with it, but *Octavius* wou'd willingly have pr ſerv'd him, upon the Account of former Friendſhip yet at laſt he conſented, and for that Reaſon *Le dus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Anthony* h Uncle *Lucius*, to be likewiſe proſcrib'd. Laſtly, was agreed, *That* Lepidus *ſhould be made Conſul for t following Year, and guard* Rome *and* Italy, *while t other two manag'd the War againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſiu who now were ſtrongly poſſeſs'd of *Greece* and *Sy ria*, and had lately taken *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, ai

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beheaded him. In this manner was concluded the ſecond *Triumvirate*, the Conſequences whereof were ſo dreadful, and which in effect gave the laſt Blow to the Liberty of the *Roman* Common-wealth. It was concluded on above a Year and a half after *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, and was introduc'd, as ſome Authors report, with many ſtrange Preſages and frightful Prodigies.

The Second *Triumvirate.*

III. Now was the City of *Rome* in a very miſerable and deplorable Condition, for the firſt thing done by the *Triumviri*, after Eſtabliſhment of their Authority, was a dreadful *Proſcription* of 300 of the *Senatorian*, and about 2000 of the *Equeſtrian* Rank; and nothing but Cries and Lamentations were heard through all the City, and Murders committed in all Places by the Soldiers. No Man dared refuſe Entrance to any of 'em, who ſearch'd the moſt ſecret Places; and *Rome* at this time appear'd like a City wholly expos'd to Waſte and Pillage. Great Numbers of uncondemn'd Perſons periſh'd in this Confuſion; ſome by Malice or Miſtake, and others for concealing or defending their Friends: In ſhort, all the moſt Tragick Fury that either Revenge or Intereſt could produce, and all the moſt generous Kindneſs that Love or Fidelity cou'd inſpire, were to be ſeen in diverſe Accidents relating to this *Proſcription.* Though the Pretence was the revenging of *Cæſar*'s Death, yet many ſuffer'd upon the Account of their great Eſtates, others out of Malice and old Reſentments, and ſome for their convenient Houſes and Gardens. Among thoſe of greateſt Note was the famous *Varro*, who now living to ſee and feel a ſecond *Tricipitina*, as he calls it in his Writings, yet with much Difficulty eſcap'd with his Life. But *Cicero* was the Man moſt aim'd at by *Anthony*, which caus'd him to get on board a Ship with all ſpeed; but not being able to endure the Sea, he return'd to

Land, saying, *That he would die in his own Countr which he had so often preserv'd.* Being weary both o his Flight and his Life, he came to a small Village little above a Mile from the Sea. Here his Servant terrify'd by several Prodigies, partly by Persuasion and partly by Force, put him again into his Litter and were carrying him back to the Sea. But *Cicer* perceiving those that came to apprehend him, order' his Litter to be set down, and quietly laid out hi Neck to *Popilius Lena*, the *Tribune*, whom formerl by his Eloquence he had sav'd from Condemnation *Lena* cut off his Head and Hands, which he presente ed to *Anthony*, who cou'd not forbear insulting ove those poor Members, and crying out, *That his Re venge was compleated, and he had no further occasion fo the Proscription.* But his Wife *Fulvia*'s Hatred cou' not be confin'd to Words, for she pierc'd his Tongu several times with a golden Bodkin, after a mos spiteful manner; and *Anthony* order'd his Head an Hands to be set up upon the *Rostrum*, where the People cou'd not without Horror behold those sac Remains of a Man who had so often Triumph' there by the Force and Charms of his Eloquence Thus fell the great *Cicero* in the sixty third Year o his Age, *A Man*, as *Julius Cæsar* observes, *that ob tain'd a Laurel as much above all Triumphs, as the En largement of the Bounds of the* Roman *Wit, was above that of the Bounds of the* Roman *Empire.*

About the same time, *Quintius, Cicero*'s Brother was slain, together with all his Sons; but *Cicero*' Sons escap'd, for he had some time before sent 'em to *Athens* to be there educated. Still the City was fill'd with Slaughters, and the ordinary Price of the Head of a *Proscrib'd* Person brought to the *Triumviri* was 100000 Sesterces, if done by a Freeman, and half as much if done by a Slave, with the Freedom of the City. This corrupted a great many, who forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, be-

tray'd

tray'd thoſe whoſe Preſervation they ought principally to have endeavour'd. Tho' many rare and admirable Examples of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Maſters, appear'd, yet thoſe of Children to their Parents were leſs common. However, *Oppius*'s Act may ſtand for many, who, *Æneas*-like, carry'd out his old and decrepid Father upon his Back, and convey'd him to the Sea, ſometimes leading, and other times carrying him, till they both eſcap'd into *Sicily*; from whence afterwards upon his return, the People out of a juſt ſenſe of his Piety made him *Ædile*, in which Office wanting Money to ſet out the uſual Games, the Workmen did all without Wages, and the Spectators inrich'd him by their voluntary Contributions. As many as cou'd eſcape the Cruelty of the Proſcription, fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africk* to *Cornificius*, but the greateſt number went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, who was now very powerful, eſpecially by Sea. His Generoſity was at this time a very great Succour to many Illuſtrious Perſons; he ſent Brigantines and other ſmall Veſſels to all the Coaſts of *Italy*, to receive ſuch as made their eſcape, and treated them with much Kindneſs and Civility.

The *Triumviri* having almoſt ſatisfy'd their Revenge, began now to think of Money, which they very much wanted to carry on the War againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: For this reaſon they drew up a Liſt of 1400 of the richeſt Ladies of *Rome*, Mothers, Daughters, or any Relations of their Enemies; theſe Alliances were far enough fetch'd, for Riches alone was ſufficient to make 'em guilty in this Caſe. Theſe Ladies aſſembling themſelves, firſt went to the Female Relations of the *Triumviri*, and after that to the Palace of theſe Magiſtrates, where, after ſeveral Repulſes, one of 'em was permitted to ſpeak, upon condition that the reſt wou'd be ſilent: This was

Hortenſia, the Daughter of *Hortenſius* who alone had been able to diſpute with *Cicero* for Eloquence, *My Lords*, ſaid ſhe, *theſe unhappy Ladies, which you ſee here imploring your Juſtice and Bounty, would never have preſum'd to appear in this Place, had they not firſt made uſe of all poſſible Means, which either their native Modeſty might allow, or their beſt Underſtandings cou'd inform 'em. Tho' it be contrary to the Rules of Decency preſcrib'd to our Sex, which we have hitherto moſt ſtrictly obſerv'd; yet the loſs of our Fathers, of our Children, of our Brothers, and of our Husbands, is ſufficient to excuſe us; nay, and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy Deaths are made a Pretence for our further Misfortunes. You pretend ye have been affronted, but what have the Women done that they muſt be impoveriſh'd? If they are as blameable as the reſt, why do you not proſcribe 'em too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declar'd you your Country's Enemies. We have neither plunder'd your Goods, nor ſuborn'd your Soldiers: We have rais'd no Troops againſt you, nor oppoſe thoſe Honours and Offices to which you pretend. We pretend not to govern the Republick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the preſent Miſeries and Misfortunes on our Heads; Empire, Dignities, and Honours, were never deſign'd for our Sex. We, alas, have done nothing to affront you, nothing to offend you, or ſo much as move you to this ſevere Treatment; a Treatment which neither* Cæſar *nor* Pompey *ever propos'd in their Wars, nor* Marius *nor* Cinna *ever thought of in their Cruelties; no, not* Sylla *himſelf, who firſt ſet up Tyranny in* Rome: *Yet, after all, you adorn your ſelves with the glorious Title of* Reformers of the State. This Diſcourſe appear'd ſo Bold and Dangerous to the *Triumviri*, that they immediately ſent their Uſhers to cauſe the Ladies to retire; but perceiving the Multitude began to cry out again ſuch Violence, they adjourn'd the Affair till the next Day, and for the Satisfaction of the People, retrench'd the Number of the Ladies to 400, but at the ſame time tax'd above 100000 Men, as well Citizens

tizens as Strangers. At last the *Triumviri* went into the Senate to declare that the Proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* excus'd himself for what had pass'd, assuring the Senators of a more moderate Conduct: But *Octavius* more politickly said, *He wou'd still reserve to himself the Liberty of Punishing such as were guilty.* After this, *Anthony* and *Octavius* with all Diligence march'd against *Brutus* and *Cassius.*

IV. The Conspirators had now made a considerable Progress in the *East*, and *Cassius* having got all *Syria* into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into *Egypt* against *Cleopatra*, who had made great Preparations to assist *Cæsar* and his Party. But *Cassius* was immediately recall'd by *Brutus* upon the News that *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were now upon their March with forty Legions; of which eight had already pass'd the *Ionian Sea*. *Brutus* in his Letter told him, *That their powerful Armies were not design'd for their particular Advancement, but the Liberty of their Country; therefore they ought not so much to aim at the Glory of new Conquests, as the Destroying those who sought the Ruin of that Liberty.* *Cassius* therefore leaving *Syria* to his Brother's Son with one single Legion, he sent a considerable Party into *Cappadocia*, which slew *Ariobarzanes*, as one who had conspir'd against him, and there rais'd vast Sums of Money. After many severe Exactions, he came himself into the *Lesser Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they there consulted about the present War. *Brutus* mov'd to have the Armies pass over into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and there meet *Octavius* and *Anthony*; but *Cassius* so far prevail'd, as to have the *Rhodians* and *Lycians* first reduc'd, who had refus'd to pay any Contributions, and were very powerful at Sea. Both were sensible how dangerous it was to have any Enemies behind 'em, therefore this Expedition was immediately put in Execution, and in a short time compleated, and *U. C.* 712.

extraordinary Contributions were rais'd by th means. The *Rhodians* were ſeverely plunder'd, an ſcarce any thing but their Lives left 'em; but th Inhabitants of *Xanthus* made ſuch an obſtinate Re ſtance, that ſcarce any were left alive, for they burn their City, and deſtroy'd themſelves with it. Aft the reducing of theſe Places, *Brutus* and *Caſſi* met at *Sardis*, from whence, after ſeveral Conſu tations, they reſolv'd to march againſt *Anthony* an *Octavius*.

Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have ſee a Ghoſt in his Tent after Midnight. He ever em ploy'd the greateſt part of the Night in diſpatchin of Affairs, and in Reading; and one Night bein thus employ'd according to his Cuſtom, there wa a general Silence through all the Camp, eſpeciall about his Tent, when of a ſudden he heard an un uſual Noiſe at the Door, which open'd of it ſe at the ſame time. *Brutus* caſting his Eye toward the Place, perceiv'd the frightful Figure of a hide ous Spectre, of a Proportion much more than na tural, which preſented it ſelf before him: He ha notwithſtanding the Courage to ſpeak to it, de manding, *Art thou a God, or art thou Man, and fo what reaſon cameſt thou hither? I am,* reply'd the Spi rit, *thy Evil Genius,* Brutus, *and thou ſhalt ſee me agai near* Philippi. *Brutus* very boldly anſwer'd, *Well, will ſee thee;* and immediately it diſappear'd. H preſently call'd up his Slaves, who all told him *That they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing.* He con tinu'd walking all the reſt of the Night, and earl in the Morning went to give an Account of wha happen'd to *Caſſius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, tol him, *That all this proceeded from the Weakneſs of h Senſes, and the Strength of his Imagination at that tim As for the reſt,* continu'd he, *let us not believe tha here are any ſuch Spirits here, that have either Voice, hu man Shape, or Power over us; tho' I cou'd wiſh ther*

wer

were, that we might not only rely upon the Greatneſs of our Forces, but likewiſe upon the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Immortal Beings, who cou'd not but be favourable to a Cauſe ſo Juſt and Sacred as ours is. This Diſcourſe ſatisfy'd *Brutus*, and ſoon after they paſs'd over into *Thrace*, and ſo to *Philippi*, a City between that Country and *Macedonia*, nigh which the Forces of the *Triumviri* were poſted.

It was with extraordinary Fear and Terror that all Perſons ſtood waiting the Succeſs of theſe two powerful Armies, which were to decide the Fate and Fortune of the *Roman* Empire. The Conſpirators Forces conſiſted of 19 Legions, and 20000 Horſe, and the *Triumviri* of the ſame Number of Legions, but much better compleated, and of 13000 Horſe. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* encamp'd on a high and convenient Ground nigh the Sea, where they were ſupply'd with Proviſions in abundance. The other Party was much ſtreightned for want of Neceſſaries, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to 'em; for *Pompey* had cut off all Communication from *Africk*, and *Marcus* and *Ænobarbus* from *Italy*, by their ſeveral Navies. This made *Anthony* extremely deſirous of coming to a Battel, which *Caſſius* being ſenſible of, refus'd to engage, tho' *Brutus* was very forward, ſaying, *That he was impatient to put an end to the Miſeries of Mankind by a glorious Victory, or a noble Death.* At laſt *Anthony*, with great Labour and Induſtry, made a way through a large Fen, and *Caſſius* threw up Works againſt him, which with the Soldiers forwardneſs, caus'd a general Battel, tho' much againſt *Caſſius*'s Will, who declar'd, *That he was forc'd, in the ſame manner as* Pompey *was, to expoſe the Liberty of the* Roman *People to the hazard of a Battel.* In the Morning juſt before the Battel, *Caſſius* ask'd *Brutus*'s Opinion of what they ought to do if they were unſucceſsful, and *Brutus* reply'd, *That he had formerly in his Writings condemn'd the Death of*

Cato, *and maintain'd that ſuch a manner of avoiding Diſgraces, was an inſolent Attempt againſt Heaven that ſent 'em; but he had now alter'd his Opinion, ſince he was not Maſter of his Life, having already ſacrific'd it to his Country, he was reſolv'd to change it for a Happier, if Fortune prov'd his Enemy.* *Caſſius* imbracing him, told him, *Now we may venture againſt the Enemy; for either we will be Conquerors our ſelves, or will have no Cauſe to fear thoſe that are ſo.*

The Forces of the *Triumviri* were commanded by *Anthony* alone, *Octavius* being now ſick; and both Armies being drawn up, *Brutus*'s Party in a ſhort time attack'd that of *Octavius* with little Order, but with ſo much Fury, that at the firſt Onſet they overthrew all that oppos'd, and preſſing forward with great Slaughter, they enter'd the very Camp of *Octavius*, who had juſt retreated to *Anthony*'s. *Anthony* was very hotly engag'd with *Caſſius*, but in a ſhort time found means to open a Paſſage thro' the Lines, and charging *Caſſius*'s Troops upon the Flank, overthrew 'em with great Slaughter; then purſuing the Victory, he ſoon became Maſter of his Camp, which Skill and Diligence he had learnt from *Julius Cæſar*. *Caſſius* retir'd to a Hill not far off, expecting the Event of the Battel on his Partner's ſide, and by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Duſt he could not diſcern whoſe Cavalry it was that made toward him at a diſtance: He therefore ſent *Titinius* to make the Diſcovery. *Titinius* was receiv'd with great Joy by 'em, who were bringing Tidings of Victory; but ſtaid ſo long, that *Caſſius* fearing *Brutus* had been routed, and his Friend taken Priſoner, cry'd out, *Alas, to preſerve the Remainders of a miſerable Life I have ruin'd my beſt Friend:* At theſe Words he retir'd into his Tent, and kill'd himſelf, or caus'd his Freed Man to do it. *Titinius* arriv'd immediately after with the Cavalry, all rejoicing; but their Joy was ſuddenly daſh'd, and *Titinius* firſt accuſing himſelf of

Folly

Folly and Lazineſs, in a great Rage ſlew himſelf upon the Body of his Friend.

Brutus was extreamly ſorrowful for the Death of his Companion, whom he call'd the *laſt of the* Romans, cauſing his Body privately to be remov'd and bury'd out of ſight, leſt his Army ſhou'd be too much dejected. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought* Caſſius *very happy in being beyond the reach of thoſe Misfortunes which remain'd for them to ſuffer.* He for ſome little time kept from Fighting, expecting to ſtarve his Enemies, who were now in extreme want of Proviſions, their Fleet being lately defeated; but at laſt, being forc'd to it by the fear of a general Deſertion, and the eagerneſs of his Soldiers, he drew 'em up in Battalia. It is reported, that the Spectre which he had ſeen before, appear'd to him again the Night before this great Battel, but now ſaid nothing. Whatever melancholy Apprehenſions he had upon him, he encourag'd his Men as much as poſſible, promiſing 'em *the liberty of Plundering the two Cities of* Lacedæmon *and* Theſſalonica; and when the Battel began, the Eagerneſs of both Parties made 'em throw aſide their miſſive Weapons, and betake themſelves immediately to their Swords, fighting with great Fury, till after much time and more Bloodſhed, *Brutus*'s Party was born down by main Force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himſelf fled to a Hill hard by, and there remain'd all Night, and when in the Morning he ſaw no way of eſcaping, he began to cry out, O *unhappy Vertue, I follow thee as a ſolid Good, but thou art only a meer Notion, a vain empty Name, or at beſt a Slave of Fortune.* Yet ſhortly after he told ſome of his Friends, *That he look'd upon himſelf much happier than any of his Conquerors, ſince he ſhou'd enjoy that Reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injuſtice cou'd never deſerve.* Then going aſide with a particular Friend call'd *Strato*, he with all Earneſtneſs begg'd

of

of him, *To ſhew him the laſt Office of his Friendſhip*; and ſeeing him very unwilling to perform ſo hard a Duty, he call'd for a Slave. *Ah!* then cry'd *Strato*, *it ſhall never be ſaid, that the great* Brutus, *in his laſt Extremity, ſtood in need of a Slave for want of a Friend*; ſo turning away his Head, he preſented the Sword's Point to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it, and immediately expir'd.

This was the End of thoſe two memorable Perſons, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and, as ſome write, they themſelves dy'd by the ſame Weapons with which they kill'd *Cæſar*, who had given 'em their Lives after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and after that, had loaden 'em with his greateſt Favours; which Favours ſome make uſe of to aggravate the Ingratitude, and others to magnifie the Juſtice of the Act. All ſuch as knew themſelves guilty of *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, ſlew themſelves with their own hands; but the reſt rallying themſelves, ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* and *Anthony* for an honourable Compoſition, which the two Generals frankly allow'd of. By this famous Overthrow the *Triumviri* eſtabliſh'd their Authority ſo far as to give the laſt Blow to the Liberty of the Commonwealth; for the Oppoſition they met from *Pompey* was inconſiderable in reſpect of this, in which they were to diſpute for one half of the *Roman* Dominions. This hapned above two Years after *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, and about half a Year after the ſecond *Triumvirate*, in the 712th Year of the City, and 40 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Brutus *and* Caſſius, *to the Baniſhment of* Lepidus; *which vary'd the Courſe of the ſecond* Triumvirate's *Power.*

Containing the Space of ſix Years.

AS the laſt Efforts and Struggles of a dying Commonwealth are generally the moſt violent, ſo were theſe of *Rome* the greateſt that ever ſhe had for the maintaining her Liberty. For in the Sedition of the *Gracchi*, and in the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rome* and *Italy* were only Sufferers; and tho' in the Diſſentions of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* the Troubles were more general, yet ſeveral of the Senators and People thought they might well enough ſtand Neuters out of their Reſpect to the Commonwealth, which Name in Appearance was ſtill reverenc'd: Whereas in theſe laſt Wars the Mask was wholly laid aſide, and all things were carry'd on in ſuch an open manner, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of declaring for Liberty or againſt it. But now all Pretence of Liberty was utterly ruin'd by the Defeats of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and from that moment the *Triumviri* began to act as Sovereigns, and to divide the *Roman* Dominions between 'em as their own by Right of Conqueſt, though *Lepidus* was not much conſider'd by the other two, as either having no ſhare in this laſt Battel, or little Intereſt among the Soldiers. The following Days after the Victory,

Victory, were employ'd by the *Triumviri* in puniſhing their Enemies; *Anthony* ſacrific'd *Hortenſius* to the Memory of his Brother *Caius*; *Livius Brutus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards marry'd to *Octavius*, killed himſelf in his Tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorn'd with all the Marks of thoſe Honours he had born, caus'd himſelf to be ſlain by his Freed Man. *Octavius* upon this occaſion, appear'd more Cruel than was agreeable to his natural Temper; he ſent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome* to be thrown at the Feet of his Uncle's Statue; his Aſhes were ſent to his Wife *Porcia*, *Cato*'s Daughter, who according to her Father's and Husband's Example, it is ſaid kill'd her ſelf, by ſwallowing down hot Coals and Aſhes. *Octavius* forc'd a Senator and his Son to draw Lots for their Lives, but they both refus'd it; the Father voluntarily gave up himſelf to Execution, and the Son ſtabb'd himſelf before his Face. To another that begg'd of him to have the Rites of Burial, he ſaid, *That that wou'd ſoon be at the Diſpoſal of the Ravens.* Theſe bitter Words and rigorous Puniſhments rendred him both odious as well as terrible to all the Priſoners who were brought before him.

After the *Triumviri* had ſatisfi'd their Revenge, they thought upon eſtabliſhing their Authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Aſia* to raiſe Money for the Soldiers Rewards in thoſe Provinces that were Tributary to the *Romans*; and *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy*, to put them in Poſſeſſion of the Lands that were promis'd 'em. *Anthony* firſt viſited *Greece*, as being the Country where Flattery was manag'd with the greateſt Delicacy in the World, was familiarly preſent at the Conferences of the Philoſophers at *Athens*, and made great Preſents to that City. Then leaving *Marcus Cenſorius* to command in *Greece* he paſs'd over into *Aſia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of the

the *East* who acknowledg'd the *Roman* Power, came to make their Court to him, and the faireſt Princeſſes ſtrove to gain his Favour, either by the Charms of their Beauty, or the Magnificence of their Preſents. This Crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Anti-Chamber, with their Praiſes and Submiſſions, did moſt agreeably ſooth his voluptuous and ambitious Temper. He pardon'd all thoſe of *Brutus*'s Party that ſurrender'd themſelves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*; the firſt was charg'd with being one of the Conſpirators, and the other with betraying *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*; but then he took away the Eſtates of ſeveral wealthy Citizens to inrich his Flatterers and Buffoons; and aſſembling the Deputies of all the Subjects and Allies of the *Romans* in thoſe Parts, in a ſet Speech he inſiſted upon *his Neceſſities and their Duties*, and ſo ſqueez'd out of the Inhabitants almoſt all that Money which had been left 'em by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. After which he went a Progreſs all over the Country, where he frequently gave extraordinary Demonſtrations of Generoſity and Good-nature. He pardon'd *Lucius*, Brother to *Caſſius*, and ſeveral other of his Enemies in thoſe Parts; but he ſpar'd none that had a hand in *Cæſar*'s Death, or were of the number of the Conſpirators, ſo that never any Man's Death was more ſeverely reveng'd than his. *Anthony* then made himſelf Sovereign Judge of the Differences between the Kings of thoſe Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the Beauty of his Mother *Glaphyra* was ſo powerful as to carry the Crown from his Competitor.

But among all thoſe Sovereigns in the *East* which depended upon the *Romans*, none were of ſuch Note as *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, whoſe Conduct in theſe laſt Wars had given her good Reaſon to fear *Anthony*: For tho' ſhe had aſſiſted *Dolabella*, yet at the ſame time *Serapion* her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought

fought for *Caſſius*. This ſhe knew had not at all been pleaſing to the *Triumviri*, conſidering what ſhe ow'd to the Memory of *Julius Cæſar*; eſpecially ſince the Love of that great Man had been ſufficiently known to all the World. Upon which ſhe reſolv'd to meet *Anthony*, and try how much her Wit and Beauty cou'd plead for her, ſince Reaſon cou'd do ſo little; as if ſhe had been reſolv'd to conquer and triumph over the *Romans* in the Perſons of their Generals. For beſides the Addreſſes of *Julius Cæſar*, ſhe had receiv'd thoſe of *Pompey*'s eldeſt Son; ſo that never Beauty was ever ſignaliz'd with more Illuſtrious Conqueſts. She had ſuch a high Opinion of her Charms, that ſhe queſtion'd not but to revive the Flame in *Anthony*'s Heart, of which formerly he had given her a Teſtimony in *Ægypt*, when he had ſome Command there. But above all, it was her Wit that moſt ſupported this Aſſurance; for tho' her Perſon was admirable, and the Brightneſs of her Eyes not to be withſtood, yet there were ſome at *Rome* that did not yield to her in the leaſt for Beauty; but none cou'd compare with her for her agreeable Wit, and her charming Converſation, which never fail'd both to pleaſe and to perſuade. Theſe Perfections, beſides her wonderful Accompliſhments in Tongues and Learning, made her reſolve to go in Perſon to *Anthony* in *Cilicia*, who had ſent *Dellius* to cite her to give an account of her late Conduct.

Never did any Princeſs appear in a more ſingular and magnificent manner than *Cleopatra*; arriving at the Mouth of the River *Cydnus*, ſhe embark'd in a Veſſel whoſe Stern was of Gold, the Sails of purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept time to a Conſort of excellent Muſick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, adorn'd like *Venus* riſing out of the Sea, with lovely Children about her like *Cupids*, fanning her, and her

her Women habited like *Nereids* and *Graces*, leaning negligently on the Sides and Shrouds of the Veſſel: The Sweets that were burning perfum'd the Banks of the River, which were cover'd with an infinite Number of People, who ran thither with ſuch Eagerneſs, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a ſhew of Majeſty, was left alone, while the Multitude flock'd to the River with extraordinary Delight and Wonder. *Anthony* in civility deſir'd her to land and ſup with him, but ſhe immediately deſir'd his Company firſt, which he wou'd not deny for fear of appearing ill-bred. He was extreamly ſurpriz'd at the Neatneſs and Magnificence of the Entertainment, and with the ingenious placing of the Lights, and many other peculiar Contrivances. The next Day he in his turn wou'd treat her, and endeavour'd to out-go her in Sumptuouſneſs, but he ſoon perceiv'd he was far ſhort of it; whereupon he turn'd all into Mirth and Raillery, which ſhe join'd with, and carry'd on with all the Delicacy and Dexterity imaginable; till at laſt, taking a more ſerious Air in her Diſcourſes, ſhe told him, *That ſhe came not thither to clear her ſelf, but to be recompenc'd for the great Services ſhe had done to him and* Cæſar, *in aſſiſting* Dolabella, *in commanding a Fleet in Perſon in ſpite of* Caſſius *and his Commanders*, with many other things, which ſhe related with that Artifice and Cunning, and that Wit and Pleaſantry, that *Anthony* cou'd no longer defend his Heart; but from that moment entertain'd a Paſſion for her, which was the Cauſe of all the future Misfortunes of his Life. He was ſo ſtrucken with her, that he left all his former Buſineſs and Honourable Employments, and preſently follow'd her into *Ægypt*, where, firſt ſacrificing to her Siſter *Arſione*, he liv'd with her all the following Year in all the Eaſe and Softneſs to which his vicious Temper cou'd prompt him, and all the Delights and Pleaſures

ſures with which that luxurious Nation cou'd ſu
niſh him.

U. C. 713. II. While *Anthony* remain'd thus idle in *Egy*
Octavius was extreamly buſie about ſettling the A
fairs of *Italy*, and dividing the Lands for ſatisfyi
the old Soldiers. This he found very difficult, a
not a little dangerous, by reaſon it exaſperated
many againſt him; for it was abſolutely neceſſa
for him to give up the ſeveral Towns allotted f
their Recompence, or elſe to ſatisfie his Soldie
with a proportionable quantity of Money, but th
cou'd not be rais'd ſince the Treaſury was ſo muc
exhauſted. Almoſt all the Inhabitants of the Tow
concern'd in this Matter, came in great Multitud
to *Rome*; and vaſt Numbers of Women with Ch
dren in their Arms, whoſe tender Years and Inn
cence drew every ones Compaſſion, daily fill'd t
Temples and Publick Places with their Lamenta
ons. The People of *Rome* talk'd very freely a
boldly upon this Account, whoſe Complaints a
Murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the Diſcreti
and Cunning imaginable; firſt borrowing wh
Money he cou'd, but finding not that ſufficient, he
laſt broke through all Difficulties, and gave his So
diers Places and Lands for their Inheritance, as
firſt deſign'd. The City of *Cremona* was one th
ſuffer'd moſt in this Diſtribution, for being ſo muc
of *Brutus*'s Party, and *Mantua* by reaſon of h
Neighbourhood had more than her Share in the
Misfortunes, in which the *Muſes* Darling, the grea
eſt Wit and beſt Poet that ever *Italy* produc'd, h
like to have periſh'd. This was the great *Virg*
who was a Party concern'd in this Publick Calam
ty, for defending the Poſſeſſion of his ſmall Eſta
from *Arrius* the Centurion, and very narrowly
ſcap'd Death by ſwimming croſs a River. And
probable that this Adventure moſt of all contrib

ted to his farther Reputation and Advancement, ſince theſe troubles were the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which was the firſt of his *Bucolicks*, he being now about 28 Years of Age.

The many Diſorders rais'd upon theſe Occaſions, and the frequent Dangers in which *Octavius* was involv'd, gave *Anthony*'s Wife *Fulvia* a fair Occaſion of endeavouring to bring about her Deſigns. Her principal Concern was the bringing back of her Husband, which ſhe believ'd nothing but a War cou'd effect; and therefore ſhe reſolv'd to proſecute thoſe Methods to which her Rage and Jealouſie did then prompt her: *Lucius* the Brother of *Anthony* was then Conſul, and to him ſhe principally apply'd her ſelf, who out of Reſpect to her who had been ſo great a Friend to him, and out of a Diſtaſte to many of *Octavius*'s Proceedings, readily comply'd with her. Many plauſible Pretences were made uſe of to make a Breach with *Octavius*, and ſuch cou'd never be wanting in ſuch unſettled and troubleſome Times as thoſe. *Rome* was now in great Miſery, and *Italy* no leſs; Proviſions were extream dear by reaſon of *Pompey*'s ſtopping all the Paſſages by Sea from abroad, and at home the Troops conſum'd all the Increaſe of the Land, and beſides committed a thouſand Diſorders in the Cities, ſo that all Trading was ruin'd, and the Shops of moſt People ſhut up. *Lucius* made great uſe of theſe Miſchiefs, and *Octavius* us'd all means to quiet the Soldiers, and pacifie the Country-People, who were driven from their Poſſeſſions: He heard their Complaints, and promis'd to do 'em Juſtice, which much incens'd *Anthony*'s Soldiers, who were alſo ſtill more and more ſtirr'd up by the Artifices of *Fulvia*. *Cæſar* openly complain'd of her, declaring, *She wholly acted againſt the true Intereſt and Sentiments of her Husband*; but ſhe hearkned to none but her Friend *Manius*, who perſuaded her, *That nothing but a War cou'd force*

Anthony *from* Cleopatra's *Arms, and bring him into* Italy; and for *Lucius*, he had no other Sentiments but what were influenc'd by theſe two.

Theſe Diſturbances began in Words, Declarations, Manifeſto's, and ſuch like; but ſoon came to an open Breach, notwithſtanding all the Care and Caution of the moſt prudent of both Parties. Many eminent Perſons were engag'd in this War; and in regard that *Lucius* had declar'd againſt the *Triumvirate*, moſt of the antient Owners of the Lands repair'd to him, and the new Poſſeſſors to *Octavius* and to *Salvidienus*, then coming out of *Gaul* with a great Power. *Lucius* march'd to oppoſe him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, one of *Octavius*'s great Friends, and a valiant Soldier. Notwithſtanding the great Caution of *Ventidius* and *Aſinius*, two of *Anthony*'s Commanders, *Lucius* was ſo hemm'd in, and reduc'd to ſuch Straits between *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*, that he was conſtrain'd to retreat to *Peruſia*, a ſtrong City of *Hetruria*, where he was cloſely beſieg'd by *Octavius* and his Party. *Ventidius* and *Aſinius* attempted to relieve the Town, but *Octavius* was ſo well poſted that they cou'd not effect it, ſo that *Lucius* was in a ſhort time reduc'd to great Extremities for want of Proviſions for ſo numerous a Garriſon. He made ſeveral bold and deſperate Sallies, but with no proportionable Succeſs; till finding his Soldiers reduc'd to the utmoſt Miſeries of Famine, he at laſt came out in Perſon, and giving himſelf up into *Octavius*'s hands, with great Earneſtneſs interceded for his poor Soldiers, and begg'd *That his Puniſhment might atone for their Crimes. Octavius* receiv'd him very honourably and with much Generoſity, and all *Lucius*'s Soldiers were pardon'd at the Deſire of *Octavius*'s own Men, who cou'd but pity the Miſeries of their old Companions and Countrymen. The Town was deſign'd to be plunder'd, but one of the chief Inhabitants call'd *Macedonicus*,

Pedonicus, in a great Rage ſet Fire to his Houſe, which conſum'd both himſelf and the whole City. *Ventidius* and the reſt made no Reſiſtance; ſo that this dangerous War was ended in a few Months time, *Pompey* making but ſmall Advantage of it; and *Octavius* return'd to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumphant Robes, and crown'd with Laurel. Publick Feaſts were alſo celebrated, and it was ordain'd, *That whenever any General hereafter ſhou'd merit the Honour of Triumph, and be Crown'd*, Cæſar *ſhou'd have a Share in his Honour.*

III. During this laſt War, and while *Octavius* was ſettling his own Affairs with all the Skill and Wiſdom of a moſt able Politician, *Anthony* was ingloriouſly paſſing away his Time at *Alexandria* in the bewitching Company of *Cleopatra*, and there fix'd by the Charms of that Queen; regarding nothing but the Enjoyment of thoſe Pleaſures ſhe every Day preſented him with, in ſome new and delightful Shape. Never had Woman that exquiſite Art of refining and heightning of Pleaſures by the Charms of Novelty, that ſhe had; ſhe introduc'd 'em in the moſt ſerious Buſineſs, and even the moſt inconſiderable Trifles, when manag'd by her Skill, receiv'd ſuch an Air as made 'em the moſt agreeable Diverſions: So that whether they play'd, or treated, or hunted, the Queen ſtill made one, and was the Soul of all, by her ingenious intermingling ſome lively Pieces of Wit, or by her unparallel'd Grace in relating ſome pleaſant Adventure. Among the ſeveral ſorts of Diverſions, *Cleopatra* had invented a Society, which ſhe call'd, *The inimitable Life*, and thoſe who made the moſt ſumptuous Entertainments, carry'd away the Prize; which Treats were prodigiouſly expenſive, as appears by ſeveral Examples out of *Plutarch* and others. By all this Variety of Pleaſures and Delights did *Cleopatra* charm this

great Man, incenſibly carrying him from one Diver-ſion to another, and entirely gaining the Affections of his Soul; ſo that *Anthony* had almoſt forgot the great Reputation and Glory he had formerly gain'd by his Arms, neglected the Toils and Fatigues of War, and was juſt ready to let his former Glory be ſwallow'd and loſt in the more ſofter Delights of Love.

In theſe Circumſtances was *Anthony* when he re-ceiv'd News, that his Brother had been overthrown by *Octavius*; that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*; that *Octavius* had made himſelf Maſter of *Gaul*, which belong'd to him, and had got all the Legions into his hands which quarter'd there. From another Part he receiv'd advice, That the *Parthians*, under command of *Pacorus* their King's Son, aſſiſted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themſelves Maſters of *Syria*: That they had likewiſe march'd as far as *Jeruſalem*, which they ſack'd, and carry'd away *Hircanus* the High-Prieſt and *Herod*'s Brother, Priſoners, *Herod* himſelf having fled to the Mountains of *Judea*. Theſe Succeſſes, ſo highly diſadvantageous to *Anthony*'s Affairs now began to rouze him from the Lethargy of his Softneſs, and to make him conſider how much his Actions were like to diſgrace the glorious Name of *Conqueror*; whereupon he gather'd together 200 Ships, and a conſiderable Army, which he had ready in thoſe Parts. His deſign was immediately to march againſt the *Parthians*, but the earneſt Inſtances of his Wife *Fulvia*, and his Friends, oblig'd him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence paſſing by the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blam'd her and his Brother *Lucius* for occaſioning the late Diſorders, and here he underſtood that *Octavius* had lately marry'd *Scribonia* the Siſter of *Libo*, *Pompey*'s Father-in-Law. This *Octavius* di-

to gain an Alliance with *Pompey*, for the ſake of his Shipping, not forgetting the leaſt thing that might make for his Advantage; and he manag'd all things with that Secreſie, Skill, and Induſtry, that the moſt piercing Judgments cou'd by no means penetrate into the Bottom of this exquiſite Politician's Deſigns.

Anthony ſuſpecting *Octavius*'s Conduct, advanc'd towards *Italy*, without ſhewing the leaſt Concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left ſick at *Sycion*; which laſt Neglect and Scorn finiſh'd what his Infidelity had begun, ſhe dying ſoon after. *Anthony* croſſing the *Ionian* Sea, was there met by *Domitius*, who deliver'd up all his Fleet and Forces to him; from whence they ſail'd to *Brunduſium*, where they were forbidden Entrance by a Garriſon plac'd there by *Octavius*. This made ſuch a Breach between 'em, that *Anthony* immediately block'd up the Place, and likewiſe procur'd *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Octavius* march'd directly to *Brunduſium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Anthony*, the Army endeavour'd all ways to reconcile theſe two great Men, which *Cocceius*, Friend to both, at length with much Labour effected; and *Pollio* on *Anthony*'s ſide, and *Mecœnas* on *Octavius*'s, both eminent Perſons, as Delegates, made up this dangerous Breach. All Offences and Affronts were mutually to be forgiven, and a Marriage was propos'd between *Anthony* and *Octavius*'s Half-Siſter *Octavia*, and Widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of moſt extraordinary Beauty, and as extraordinary Vertues and Accompliſhments. Tho' *Cleopatra* had ſo large a Share in *Anthony's* Heart, yet he cou'd not without Baſeneſs refuſe a Lady of *Octavia*'s admirable Qualities; and to avoid all preſent Inconveniencies, he marry'd her. Then a new Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire was made between theſe Commanders, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyricum*, all from that Place

Westward being to obey *Octavius*, and all Eastward *Anthony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, whose Authority declin'd daily, and who having offended *Octavius* had been confin'd by him to that Province.

According to this Division, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* against the *Parthians*; but the Troubles at Home seem'd much greater to both *Anthony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertain'd with the sad and lamentable Complaints of poor People, ready to starve for want of Provisions, which *Pompey* hinder'd from coming either from the East or West, by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy also, which was then most powerful at Sea. *Octavius*, by reason of some former Affronts, would not be brought to any Accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithstanding the continual Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, whose Rage and Fury at last came to that height, that he was nigh being ston'd by 'em, and *Anthony* too, by coming in to his Assistance. At last both he and *Pompey* were so far persuaded as to come to an Enterview; but the latter demanding large Privileges for the Proscrib'd Persons, and to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty was ineffectual. Yet the pressing Necessities and frequent Mutinies of the People brought 'em together a second time, where, among some other Articles, it was concluded, *That* Pompey *shou'd retain all the Islands he had already, and* Peloponnesus *over and above; that he shou'd have the Privilege of demanding the Consulship in his Absence, and of discharging that Office by any of his Friends: That he shou'd leave the Sea open and pay the People what Corn was due out of* Sicily; *and that the* Proscrib'd *Persons, except such as were guilty of* Cæsar's *Death, shou'd have all their Liberty to return.* And so a Peace was concluded to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all People, which they testify'd by many Publick Games and Pastimes.

IV. A

IV. All Civil Wars were now for a while at an End, and *Octavius* and *Anthony* were about taking the Field againſt Foreigners; but before that time, they nam'd the Conſuls for the four following Years, *Anthony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Soſius* for the third, and *Anthony* and *Octavius* for the fourth, by which time it was hop'd and diſcours'd that they wou'd reſtore the Liberty of the Common-wealth. *Octavius*, to keep his Soldiers in Military Diſcipline, ſent one Part of his Forces into *Illyricum*, and led the reſt into *Gaul*, where there were ſome Diſturbances. *Anthony* departed for the *Eaſt* againſt the *Parthians*, which War *Ventidius* had manag'd with good Succeſs, having got ſeveral Victories, kill'd ſeveral of their principal Commanders, and repell'd 'em in *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, being the only General that cou'd revenge *Craſſus*'s Death, or that triumph'd over that Nation. *Anthony* there ſettled the Affairs of *Syria*, and made Peace with *Antiochus* King of *Comogena*, who had aſſiſted the *Parthians*; and he got the ſeveral Kings which he had eſtabliſh'd in thoſe Parts, to be confirm'd by Ordinance of the Senate, which were *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judæa*, *Amintas* in *Piſidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. The City of *Athens* he choſe to paſs the Winter in with *Octavia*, in which Place he intirely gave himſelf over to his Pleaſures and Diverſions, quitting all the Tokens and Marks of his Authority to live like a private Perſon; and in his Court there was no Buſineſs diſcours'd of, but only Learning and Philoſophy. *U. C.* 714.

As for *Pompey*, he ſeem'd for a while to be ſatisfy'd; but as the Treaty between him and *Octavius* only regulated their Pretenſions, not their Ambitions, a Breach was ſoon made again; the Pretences of which was, That *Anthony*, who was oblig'd by

Articles to quit *Peloponneſus*, wou'd not do it till *Pompey* had ſatisfy'd him for ſuch Monies as were due to him from the Inhabitants. *Pompey* wou'd by no means hearken to this, but immediately fitted out a new Fleet, and provided himſelf of Forces, perhaps giving Credit to *Menodorus*, who told him, *That the preſent Settlement of Affairs was no true Peace, but rather a Ceſſation of Arms.* He then renew'd his Cruiſings and Pyracies, which likewiſe renew'd the former Miſeries and Grievances, and made the People cry out, *That the Matter was only chang'd from three Tyrants to four.* But *Metrodorus* in a ſhort time revolted to *Cæſar*, bringing in with him *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions; and ſoon after *Octavius* put to Sea to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*, and was in great danger of his Life; and afterward his Ships lying at Anchor, were extreamly ſhatter'd and moſt of his Men caſt away. Theſe Misfortunes oblig'd *Octavius* to fortifie the Coaſts of *Italy*, leſt *Pompey* ſhou'd attempt an Invaſion, and ſent to *Anthony* for his Aſſiſtance: Tho' he ſeem'd intirely taken up with ſuch important Affairs, he found ſome more agreeable in another place; and *Livia* the Wife of *Tiberius* was the Subject of 'em. The Beauty of this Woman, joyn'd with her refin'd and dextrous Wit, made a great Impreſſion upon his Heart which was much alienated from *Scribonia*, whom he divorc'd for her inſupportable Temper; and either by his Entreaties or Authority, he oblig'd *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, whom he marry'd, tho' then big with Child, the Prieſts all allowing of it.

U. C. 716. *Anthony* was now arriv'd at *Brunduſium* with 300 Sail, giving out, He came to aſſiſt *Octavius* in this War. *Octavius* having not long before receiv'd the News of *Agrippa*'s quelling the *Gauls*, and having gather'd together a noble Fleet, cou'd willingly have diſpens'd with *Anthony*'s Civility. He thought he was already too powerful, and therefore ſought all

Arts

Arts and Pretences to excuſe his going to meet *Anthony*, which Proceedings did not a little diſpleaſe him, as having been jealous of *Octavius* for a long time. *Anthony* had then particular need of Soldiers to employ againſt the *Parthians*; and willing to bare the Charge of a Fleet, he deſign'd *Octavius* ſhou'd take that, and furniſh him with Land-Forces. Whereupon *Octavia* generouſly offer'd to go to her Brother, and clear all Miſunderſtandings, and reconcile all Differences that were like to ariſe, which *Anthony* willingly agreed to. *Cæſar* receiv'd her with a Courteſie ſuitable to the great Affection he had for her, but yet was ſo backward in anſwering her Requeſts, that ſhe publickly addreſs'd her ſelf to his two great Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, who had a profound Reſpect for her, both for her great Merits and high Birth. *My Lords*, ſaid ſhe, *you ſee here* Octavia, *a Woman of the greateſt Quality of the World, now ready to be made the moſt miſerable of all her Sex, if your great Care and Wiſdom prevent not theſe Misfortunes. The whole* Roman *People have fix'd their Eyes on me, me the Siſter of* Cæſar *and Wife of* Anthony; *if any ill Deſtiny ſhou'd bring theſe two to Arms, you have the Chance of Fortune on your ſide, but I muſt fall whoever gains, and be reduc'd to the fatal Neceſſity of loſing a Husband or a Brother.* This moving Argument, join'd with the Affection *Octavius* had for his Siſter, brought him to an Enterview with *Anthony*, where extraordinary Civility was ſhewn to each other, all little Differences were accommodated, and Exchange made as *Anthony* deſir'd; and becauſe the time of the *Triumvirate* ſet by the Senate was almoſt expir'd, they prolong'd their Power for five Years more, without ever regarding the Suffrages of the Senate or People. After this, *Anthony* departed once more for *Syria*, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy*, *Octavius* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* till the following Year.

Octavius

Octavius determin'd to invade *Sicily* from three ſe veral Quarters; *Lepidus*, who had now join'd him was to make a Deſcent from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Ta rentum*, and he himſelf from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* was re ſolv'd to oppoſe each of theſe Commanders, but a this time there needed not that Care; for *Octavius* Fleet was a ſecond time ſhatter'd and diſabled by Storm, which ſo ſwell'd *Pompey* with Vanity, tha he ſtyl'd himſelf *Neptune's Son*. However *Octavius* wou'd not give over his Enterprize; for the ſam Summer having recruited his Forces, and refitted h Navy, he ſent it out under the Command of *Agrippa* who firſt overthrew *Pompey*'s Fleet, then was agai worſted himſelf; yet after that landed 21 Legions and 2000 Horſe, beſides 5000 Light-arm'd Me No great or memorable Action happen'd on Land but *Pompey* ſent to his Enemy to know if he wou fight by Sea, much fearing the Land-Forces. *Octa vius* accepted of his Offer, and in a general Battel, i which *Agrippa* perform'd great Acts, finally defeate him, having ſunk 28 of his Veſſels. The reſt wer either taken or broken, ſeventeen only eſcap'd; an at the ſight of this great Overthrow, all *Pompey* Land-Forces ſurrender'd themſelves to *Octavius*, ſ that with his ſeventeen Veſſels he fled to *Anthony* i *Syria*, from whom he expected Protection, in requ tal of what he had formerly given to his Mother *Ju lia*. *Meſſæna* ſtill held out for *Pompey*, but the Garriſo at laſt yielded to *Lepidus*, and that brought all *Sici* into Subjection.

This Victory, tho' ſo advantageous to *Octavius* prov'd the Ruine of *Lepidus*, who now having go 22 Legions under his Command, and a ſtrong Bo dy of Cavalry, pleas'd himſelf with the ambitiou Thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, t which he pretended a Right, as firſt invaded by him Whereupon *Octavius* ſent to him to complain of hi Proceedings; to whom *Lepidus* fiercely reply'd, *Tha*

Cæſa

Cæsar *had taken upon him all the Authority of the* Triumvirate, *when he had as much Right to it as himself.* At this *Octavius* with great Boldness went alone to *Lepidus*'s Camp, with no other Assistance than that of his own Merit, and the Authority he had gain'd by his Victories. The Soldiers of *Pompey* look'd upon him with great Respect, and drew round about him; which *Lepidus* perceiving, he hastned thither, and made some of his Men charge *Octavius*, who presently receiv'd a Hurt by a Dart. Yet *Octavius* with a great Presence of Mind, went directly to the Place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, and taking one of 'em, he advanc'd it in the Air; whereupon all the Legionary Soldiers ran in Crouds, and saluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being thus abandon'd by his Soldiers, quitted all the Marks of his Authority which he cou'd no longer keep, took deep Mourning, and came and threw himself at *Octavius*'s Feet. *Octavius* was much mov'd at this mortifying Spectacle, to see a *Triumvir*, who had dispos'd of the Lives of many noble Persons, reduc'd to beg his own; but he despis'd him too much to take his Life; and tho' his Soldiers would have kill'd him, he sav'd him, but turn'd him out of all his Authority and Power, except that of *Pontifex Maximus*, and banish-ed him to *Circæum*.

Thus fell one Head of the *Triumvirate*, and their Authority, without any Competitor, came wholly into the hands of *Octavius* and *Anthony*; which Authority became almost indisputable by the Death of *Pompey*, who was shortly after slain by *Anthony*'s Order in *Phrygia*, having first made several Commotions in those Parts. So that all Civil Wars were for a while ended in the *Roman* State, which fell out in the 718th Year of the City, and the 7th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 8 Years after *Julius Cæsar*'s Death, and 34 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the Baniſhment of Lepidus, *to the Death of* Anthony; *which made Way for* Octavius's *Abſolute Authority, and was the laſt Step to the* Imperial State.

Containing the Space of Six Years.

U. C. 718. I. ROME now began to take Breath after ſo many Domeſtick Broils, and *Octavius* was receiv'd at the City with a general Joy, the Senators met him at the Gates, and conducted him to the *Capitol*, follow'd by all the People, crown'd with Garlands of Flowers; where after he had given Thanks to the Gods, they waited on him to his Palace. *Octavius* now thought of nothing ſo much as the gaining the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, and he much endeavour'd to reſtore the publick Peace of the City, which had of late been much diſturb'd by Thieves and Robbers. For that End he order'd *Sabinus*, with his Troops, to purſue and bring to puniſhment all ſuch as might be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewiſe eſtabliſh'd at *Rome* ſome Companies for the Guard of the City. This and many other Things he executed with ſuch great Diligence and Dexterity, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had ſuch a ſurprizing Underſtanding at ſo ſmall an Age. Some Cities of *Italy* proceeded even to the erecting Altars to him, eſpecially after one generous Act he did. He had among *Pompey*'s Papers a great Number

Number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senators, enough to occaſion many new Diſturbances. Theſe he brought into the *Forum*, and before all the People threw 'em into the Fire, proteſting, *That he there ſacrific'd all his private Reſentments to the Good of the Common-wealth, and deſign'd to give up his Authority as ſoon as* Anthony *ſhould return from the* Parthian *Expedition.* The People applauded him beyond Example; and to ſhew that they ever deſir'd to obey him, they choſe him *Tribune* for his Life; and by this they likewiſe thought to oblige him to quit the odious Dignity of *Triumvir*. *Octavius* willingly accepted of the perpetual *Tribuneſhip*, but deferr'd the Suppreſſion of the *Triumvirate* till *Anthony*'s Return, and ſent *Bibulus* to communicate his Deſign to him; and after he had diſpos'd of the Government of the Provinces, he march'd againſt the *Illyrians*.

It was believ'd, that the Death of *Pompey* wou'd have eſtabliſh'd a Peace through all the World; eſpecially ſince *Anthony* and *Octavius* might in the Extent and Riches of the *Roman* Empire, have found all that cou'd be deſired for the ſatisfying their Ambition: But the ſecret Hatred between theſe two, which broke out upon all Publick Occaſions, now began to raiſe new Commotions in the *Roman* State. The Paſſion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant Preſents of whole Provinces which he made her, ſerv'd *Octavius* for a plauſible Pretence to renew the War, and free himſelf from a Competitor ſo formidable both for his Valour, and his Reputation among the Soldiers. *Anthony* had now call'd *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, and there gave her all *Phœnicia*, *Cœlo-Syria*, and *Cyprus*, with a great part of *Cilicia*, *Arabia*, and *Judæa*; which much diſpleas'd the *Roman* People, who daily publiſh'd ſcurrilous Diſcourſes of *Anthony*'s Prodigality. *Anthony* being inform'd of theſe Libels by his Friends from *Rome*, immediately publiſh'd an Apology, wherein he affirm'd, *That* U. C. 719.

That the Grandeur of the Roman *Empire was never* [illegible] *conſpicuous for the Conqueſts made, as for the Liberalit practis'd in beſtowing the conquer'd Provinces: That tru Nobility was inlarg'd and multiply'd by the numerous Po ſterity that Sovereign Princes left in ſeveral Parts of th World; and that was the Motive that induc'd* Hercules *from whom he deriv'd his Birth, not to ſubject himſelf t the ſingle tye of one Wife, but to leave the Foundation o ſeveral Illuſtrious Races in all Parts, where he extended hi glorious Conqueſts.* Theſe falſe Reaſonings, which wer deſign'd to juſtifie his Paſſion, prov'd more injuri ous to him, and made him appear odious to th *Romans*, who made Profeſſion of a much ſtricter Mo rality.

Anthony beſides had march'd againſt the *Parthia* with a mighty Power, which made the *Eaſt* tremble but with very ill Succeſs; for at the beginnin the Enemy ſlew one of his Lieutenants, and en tirely defeated two Legions, and even he himſe was reduc'd to ſuch Extremities, that he often de ſpair'd of his own Safety. At laſt, after the loſs o the fourth part of his Troops, and all his Baggage he ſav'd himſelf in *Armenia*, by the Advice of *Roman* who had been Priſoner among the *Parthia* ever ſince the Death of *Craſſus*. Tho' *Anthony* i this War behav'd himſelf with his uſual Bravery yet the great Loſs and ſhameful Retreat of ſuch General as he, who in all probability was once abl to have conquer'd his Enemies, extreamly diminiſh his former Reputation: And what was ſtill mor diſadvantageous to him, was the general Belief tha theſe Misfortunes were owing to his Paſſion fo *Cleopatra*, which had caus'd him to take no Meaſure aright, but ſuch as ſhou'd haſten his Return to he But what principally enrag'd the *Romans*, was, th taking *Artabazus*, King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthon* led in Trumph into *Alexandria*. This *Rome* cou by no means bear, that a *Roman* General ſhou'

impar

mpart ſuch a peculiar Honour to a Foreign Nation, nd that ſhe ſhou'd be depriv'd of the Glory of nſulting over vanquiſh'd Kings, which for ſo many ears ſhe had enjoy'd. All theſe Faults of *Anthony*, *æſar* made advantage of, and above all exaggera- d the little Value he had for his Country: And hen he found the People ſufficiently exaſperated gainſt him, he reſolv'd to ſend *Octavia* to her Huſ- and, that he might have a plauſible Pretence to eclare War againſt him, if he ſhou'd offer her the ffront of ſending her back without ſeeing her.

Anthony was now at *Leucopolis*, between *Tyre* and *idon*, where he ſtaid with an Impatience he was ot able to conceal, frequently leaving the Table to un to the Sea-ſide himſelf, to ſee if the Queen were oming. At laſt ſhe came with great Quantity of Cloathing for her Soldiers, and a vaſt Sum of Money: at leaſt *Anthony* gave her the Honour of when he diſtributed it. Almoſt at the ſame time *Tiger* arriv'd from *Octavia*, who ſtaid at *Athens*, om whence ſhe ſent her Husband word that ſhe ad brought him Clothes and Arms, Horſes and reſents for his Officers, and 2000 choſen Soldiers ell arm'd. This was very unwelcome News to *leopatra*, who fearing ſhe cou'd not prevail againſt powerful a Rival when ſhe appear'd, immediate- feign'd a deep Melancholy, abſtaining from Food make her ſelf lean; and when ſhe was near *An- ony*, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing Eyes, and a eſpairing Countenance, like one beſides her ſelf ith Love; ſhe let fall Tears in his Preſence, and rn'd away her Face, as if ſhe deſir'd to hide from im thoſe Marks of her Grief. Theſe Artifices, to- ether with the ſmooth and cunning Flatteries of *leopatra*'s Friends, prevail'd ſo much upon *Anthony*'s eakneſs, that they quite turn'd his Thoughts in vour of his Miſtreſs. He broke off his honoura- e Enterprize againſt the *Parthians*, notwithſtand-

ing

ing all the Inſtances of the King of *Media*, w
offer'd to joyn with him, and oppoſe that Peop
with his Cavalry accuſtom'd to their way of figh
ing. He only contented himſelf to make a Mat
between one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra*, and
Daughter of that King; and after he had ſent
Octavia, to return to *Rome*, he waited on *Cleopatra*
Ægypt.

Here *Anthony* began to ſhew himſelf more luxu
ous and extravagant than ever, erecting a ſtate
Throne of Silver in the moſt publick Place in
lexandria, upon which were two Seats of Gold, o
for himſelf, and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *A*
thony dreſs'd like *Bacchus*, and *Cleopatra* like *Iſis*, we
ſeated; and in the preſence of all the People he d
clar'd her Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia*, a
Lower *Syria*, aſſociating with her *Cæſario*, the S
ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*. To the Children he h
by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and
their Dominions, to *Alexander* the eldeſt he allott
Armenia, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretend
he wou'd conquer in a little time; and to *Ptole*
the younger, *Phœnicia*, Upper *Syria*, and *Cilicia*; a
all things were perform'd with the greateſt Pom
and Solemnity imaginable. *Anthony* was ſtill carry
away with new Pleaſures and Delights by *Cleopat*
and the Delicacy and Profuſeneſs of their Treats ſt
daily encreas'd, till at laſt the Queen promis'd h
upon a Wager to give him a Treat of 60000 Pou
value of our Money. In this Treat was ſerv'd
a golden Cup with a very ſtrong diſſolving Vin
gar in which *Cleopatra* put one of her Pendan
which was a Pearl of an ineſtimable value, and i
mediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to jud
of the Wager, immediately ſecur'd the other Pe
dant which ſhe was then taking off, and gave jud
ment that ſhe had already won the Wager; a
Anthony himſelf was extreamly troubled for the L

of such a Jewel. The remaining Pearl, after the Death of *Cleopatra*, came into the hands of *Cæsar*, who caus'd it to be cut asunder, and made it into two Pendants for the Image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriously adorn'd with half of this prodigal Queen's Supper.

II. *Octavius* was now much provok'd by *Anthony*'s Actions, especially at his affronting his Sister, and made report of all his Practices to the Senate, who began to have a far less esteem for *Anthony* than ever. *Octavia* us'd her utmost Endeavours to reconcile these two, alledging, *That her Interest ought not to oblige* Cæsar *to declare himself* Anthony's *Enemy, since it wou'd be a shameful thing to have it reported in future Ages, that the Love of one Woman, and the Jealousy of another, had caus'd the two Governours of the greatest Empire of the World to plunge it into the Miseries of a Civil War.* Her great Generosity, her mild Behaviour, together with the Love and Respect to her Husband, still further incens'd the People against *Anthony*, for his ill Usage of a Lady of that extraordinary Merit. *Octavius* at last resolv'd to declare War against *Anthony*, but defer'd for a while, being employ'd all this Year against several People of *Illyricum*; at which same time *Anthony* also left *Ægypt*, and went into *Media*, where he enter'd into a League with that King. *U. C.* 720.

The following Year *Octavius* chiefly employ'd in Preparations against *Anthony*, who was now so sensible of *Octavius*'s Designs, that he sent to *Rome* to complain of *Octavius*'s Conduct; alledging, *That he had seiz'd upon* Sicily, *without affording him a Share; that he had dispossess'd* Lepidus, *and kept all his Governments to himself; and that he had divided all* Italy *among his own Soldiers, and reserv'd nothing for his in* Asia. *Octavius* made Answer to these Accusations, *That* Lepidus's *Conduct had oblig'd him to remove him; that as for*

the Conqueſts he had made, Anthony *ſhou'd have a Share, when he had divided* Armenia *which he had conquer'd; and as for* Anthony's *Soldiers, that it was not likely that they wou'd value a few pitiful Lands in Italy, after they had conquer'd all* Media *and the Empire of the* Parthians, *by the mighty Exploits they had done in following their General.* *Anthony* was ſo inrag'd at this Jeer, that he order'd *Canidius,* who commanded his Army, to march without intermiſſion with 16 Legions to paſs over into *Europe,* and he himſelf with *Cleopatra* came to *Epheſus,* where his Lieutenants had gather'd together 800 Veſſels, of which *Cleopatra* furniſh'd 200 with 20000 Talents, and Proviſions for all his Forces. *Anthony,* by the Advice of *Domitius,* reſolv'd to ſend back *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt* till the War was ended; but ſhe fearing leſt *Octavia* ſhou'd take an Advantage of her Abſence, and make her Peace, by large Preſents gain'd *Canidius* to repreſent to *Anthony* a great Number of Inconveniencies that her Departure wou'd occaſion; particularly, *the depriving him of the Aſſiſtance of the* Ægyptians, *who were the beſt Part of his Navy.* Theſe Counſels, and her own cunning Inſinuations, ſo far prevail'd upon *Anthony's* deprav'd Temper, that he conſented to her Stay.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* went both to *Samos,* where, for Preparation for ſo great an Enterprize, they began with all the Diverſions and Pleaſures that cou'd be invented. Never were any Man's Cares ſo pleaſantly divided as *Anthony's*; on one ſide all the King's, Princes and Potentates from *Ægypt* to the *Euxine Sea,* and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum,* had Orders to ſend Arms, Proviſions and Soldiers to *Samos,* on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Muſicians, and Buffoons, were oblig'd to repair to this Iſle: So that frequently when a Ship was thought to come laden with Soldiers, Arms and Ammunition, it prov'd to be full of Players, Scenes and Machines;

and

and while all the reſt of the World was in extream Miſery and Deſolation, Joy and all kind of Pleaſure reign'd here, as if they had all made choice of this Place to retire to. But how Magnificent ſoever their Entertainments were, *Anthony*'s Fear and Jealouſie had ſo ſower'd his Temper, that he began to ſuſpect *Cleopatra* her ſelf, and wou'd eat nothing without a Taſter. But *Cleopatra* by her dextrous Management, by ſeveral Inſtances ſoon let him ſee, *That he cou'd have no Guard againſt her Addreſs, were not her Heart intereſs'd in his Preſervation*; which made *Anthony* leave off his troubleſome Precautions, which he found uſeleſs againſt the Arts of a Woman, who cou'd ſo skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of Death among her Pleaſures. Every City of *Anthony*'s Empire, had a Share in his Sacrifices, and ſent an Ox thither to be offer'd, and the Kings who accompany'd him, contended who ſhou'd make the nobleſt Entertainments, ſo that it gave Occaſion to one to ask, *What Rejoycings they would make for a Victory, who made ſuch magnificent Treats before a dangerous War?*

The Stay *Anthony* made at *Samos* was very favourable to *Octavius*, who cou'd make but ſmall Proviſion for War, by reaſon of the Diſcontents of all the *Italian* Cities, occaſion'd by the ſevere Impoſitions laid upon 'em, and augmented by the News of *Anthony*'s Approach with ſuch formidable Forces. But when they ſaw that *Anthony*'s Preparations ſerv'd chiefly to fill the Publick Places and Theatres of *Samos*, *Octavius* found Means to appeaſe 'em, and to put himſelf in a Poſture of Diſputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemies. Still *Anthony* began to grow more odious to the *Roman* People; for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there honouring her beyond any Mortal before her, he ſent to *Rome* with Orders to *Octavia* to leave his Houſe, with all her Children. *Octavia* readily obey'd theſe unjuſt

Orders, without murmuring, only lamenting her hard Fate, *becauſe ſhe was made to ſerve for a Pretence to a War, whoſe Conſequences muſt needs be fatal to her.* Several of *Anthony*'s Friends not being able any longer to bear with his Diſorders, abandon'd him, and *Octavius* having got *Anthony*'s Will into his hands, found new matter to complain of to the Senate and People, which was *Anthony*'s ordering, *That if he dy'd in* Rome, *his Body ſhou'd be carry'd in Funeral Pomp through the principal Places of the City, and then ſent into* Ægypt *to* Cleopatra. To this a Report was added, *That* Anthony *deſign'd to give* Rome *to* Cleopatra, *if his Arms were proſperous, and to transfer the Seat of the Empire into* Ægypt; ſo that notwithſtanding all the Care of the more prudent ſort, and all their Endeavours to reconcile theſe two great Men, it plainly appear'd that nothing but the Sword cou'd decide the preſent Controverſy.

U. C. 722. III. As ſoon as *Octavius* found himſelf in a good Condition to carry on the War, he publickly proclaim'd it againſt *Cleopatra*, and diveſted *Anthony* of his Authority, which he had in a manner already parted with in favour of that Princeſs. The Decree imply'd beſides, *That* Anthony *was now no longer Maſter of his own Will, ſince* Cleopatra, *with her Philtres had taken away the uſe of his Reaſon; ſo that he was not to be eſteem'd as a Perſon engag'd in this War, which was only manag'd by* Mardion *her Eunuch, and* Iras *and* Charmia *her Women, who were all his Governours.* All *Anthony*'s Followers were invited over with great Promiſes of Rewards, but not declar'd Enemies, partly to prevent their growing deſperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcuſable in making War againſt his Country, only for the ſake of an *Ægyptian* Woman. The Forces of theſe two Generals were anſwerable to the Empire they contended for, one drawing all the *Eaſt*, and the other the *Weſt* to his Party.

Party. All the ſeveral Kings of *Aſia* that were Allies of the *Romans*, follow'd the Fortune of *Anthony*; ſome by their Perſons, and others by their Troops alone; all which, with *Anthony*'s Forces, compos'd an Army of 100000 Foot and 12000 Horſe, and his Fleet conſiſted of 500 Ships of War, whereof many were of the largeſt Bulk. *Octavius* in his Party had no Foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to no more than 80000 Foot, but was as ſtrong in Cavalry as his Enemies: In his Fleet were 250 Veſſels, but all Light, better Mann'd, and more convenient than *Anthony*'s. This Year, by reaſon of *Anthony*'s recalling his Troops out of *Media* from the Protection of that Country, the *Parthians* became Maſters of it, and *Armenia* was likewiſe loſt.

The two great Men being now in readineſs for Action, they firſt began to ſhew their Hatred by reflecting Letters; and when *Octavius* reproach'd *Anthony* with his Love to *Cleopatra*, and the Prodigality of his Feaſts, he, on the other ſide, put him in mind *of the famous Feaſts of the Twelve Gods, where he and his other Gueſts repreſented the Deities they ador'd.* To which he added, *his prepoſterous Match with* Livia, *and his infamous Divorce of* Scribonia, *for not bearing the Inſolence of that new Miſtreſs*; and all the *Roman* Ladies that *Octavius* had any great Familiarity with, were brought upon the Stage. He proceeded likewiſe to tax *Octavius with Cowardice at the Battels of* Mutina *and* Sicily; whereupon *Octavius* wrote to him, *That it was childiſh to fight any longer with the Pen, but if he wou'd approach at the head of his Army, he ſhou'd have Ports in* Italy *to land without moleſtation; that he wou'd draw his Troops ſo far from the Sea, that* Anthony *ſhou'd want no room for Encamping, and putting his Men in Battalia.* To make return to this Bravade, *Anthony*, tho' he were much the older, challeng'd *Octavius to fight a ſingle Combat, or if he* U. C. 723.

pleas'd, he wou'd give him Battel in the Plains of Pharsalia, *where the great* Cæsar *and* Pompey *had formerly decided their famous Differences.* *Anthony* was now at *Actium*, a Town on the Coasts of *Epirus*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Ambracia*; and while he lay there without Action, *Octavius* pass'd over from *Brundusium*, and surpriz'd *Toryne*, a City nigh *Actium*. This Exploit amaz'd *Anthony*'s Soldiers, because his Legions were not yet arriv'd; but *Cleopatra*, to re-assume 'em, made slight of it, and in a jesting Way said, *What damage is it for* Octavius *to take the* Scummer? alluding to the Word *Toryne*, which signifies *a Scummer*; as if the Danger had been no greater than the taking of a Dinner.

Anthony had brought all his Ships into the Gulf whither *Octavius* the next Day after the taking of *Toryne* came forward, and offer'd him Battel. *Anthony*'s Vessels were very ill Mann'd, however he drew 'em into a fighting Posture, with their Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy; but *Octavius* durst not engage him in that narrow Passage, and therefore stood off to Sea; the other refus'd to follow, but as he perfectly knew the Country thereabouts, he cut off the Water from *Octavius*'s Camp on every side, which much distress'd his Army. But the Success of *Agrippa* in taking *Leucadia*, *Petras*, and *Corinth*, about this time, much reviv'd the Soldiers, and likewise occasion'd *Amintas*, *Deiotarus* and *Domitius* to go over to *Octavius*. To the latter of these, *Anthony*, according to his natural Generosity, sent his People and all his Equipage, which so sensibly touch'd *Domitius*, who was sick already, that he was not able to out-live the Grief of abandoning a Man who thus by Kindness only had revenged his Perfidiousness. In the mean time *Canidius* arriv'd with the Legions, who now began to change his Mind concerning *Cleopatra*, desiring *Anthony*, *to send her back, and go himself into* Macedonia,

nia, *where he might fight by Land with ſo much more Advantage, becauſe* Dicomes *King of the* Getes, *had promiſed him a powerful Aſſiſtance:* He farther told *Anthony, That it wou'd be a renouncing both Senſe and Reaſon to put a Victory to the Hazard of the Seas and Winds, which they were certain of at Land, by the Valour and Experience of their General, who, to this Day, had kept up the Title of* Invincible; *and by the Hearts and Courages of their Soldiers, who had been try'd in ſo many great Dangers.* *Anthony* was much inclin'd to follow this Advice, but *Cleopatra*, whoſe Words were Oracles, byaſs'd him the other Way, and oblig'd him againſt his Will to hazard both his Empire and Life in a Sea-Fight; and this, only that ſhe might eſcape with more eaſe, if *Anthony* ſhould loſe the Day.

Anthony had now reſolv'd to fight by Sea, and while he was putting his Fleet in order of Battel, a brave old Soldier, all cover'd with Scars, ſpoke thus to him aloud, *My noble General, do you deſpiſe this good Sword, and this old Arm, which all my Wounds cou'd ne'er yet weaken, that you ſhou'd put your Confidence in brittle Boats and rotten Wood? Leave the Water to the* Ægyptians *and* Phœnicians, *People born and nurſt up in that Element, but leave us* Romans *to the firm Land, where we may boldly meet Death, and fall like Men.* *Anthony* anſwer'd nothing, only by the Motion of his Head ſeem'd to incourage him, tho' he himſelf was not well ſatisfy'd; for when his Officers propos'd taking away the Sails, he oppos'd it, alledging, *That he wou'd have none of the Enemy eſcape.* That Day, and the three following, they Sea was ſo rough they cou'd not engage, but on the fifth, the two Fleets advanc'd towards each other in good Order. *Anthony* in his Brigantine went about encouraging his Men with the Remembrance of the many Victories they had gain'd under his Conduct, telling 'em beſides *That the Largeneſs of their Veſſels gave 'em Opportunity of fighting as firmly, and with a much Aſſurance as on dry*

Land; and that this Day as he expected the Empire of the World from their Valour, ſo they might expect Rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a Conqueſt. Octavius on his ſide gave no leſs Hopes to his Soldiers, eſpecially ſince they ſeem'd fearful of the Enemy's Fleet; and among other things ſaid, *The Enemy's Veſſels are laden indeed, but not mann'd; and if they exceed us in Multitudes of Men, we ſurpaſs them in Number of Soldiers. Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, Conquerors; to ſpeak more were to detain you from Victory, only call to mind your ancient Valour; and remember that I am* Cæſar, *and you* Romans.

It was both a noble and a terrible Sight, to ſee the Shore on one ſide o'erſpread with 200000 fighting Men, and the Sea cover'd on the other with an incredible Number of Veſſels fill'd with Soldiers. Nor was the Battel leſs remarkable, which began on both ſides with great Courage and Bravery, and ſo continu'd for a conſiderable time; when *Cleopatra*, weary'd with Expectation, or overcome with Fear, unexpectedly tack'd about, and fled towards *Peloponneſus* with ſixty Sail. And what was ſtill more ſurprizing, *Anthony* himſelf, who had formerly ſhewn ſo many eminent Marks of his Valour, now forgot the Care of his Honour and Safety, and fled after her, playing the part of a cowardly Soldier, while each of his Soldiers perform'd the Office of a courageous General. Thus *Anthony* abandon'd his Men that ſo generouſly expos'd their Lives for his Intereſt; and getting into *Cleopatra*'s Galley, he ſat for a long time by himſelf in a confus'd melancholy Poſture, without ſo much as ſeeing the Queen, tho' he had follow'd her without any apparent Reaſon but the Thoughts of her Abſence. The Battel notwithſtanding, continu'd with great Obſtinacy till five in the Evening, when *Anthony*'s Forces were partly conſtrain'd by the great Conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly perſuaded by the obliging Promiſes of

Octavius

Octavius, to ſubmit; and herein *Octavius*'s Clemency did much efface the Memory of the Battel of *Philippi*, and the cruel Proſcriptions of the *Triumvirate*. The Conſequence of this Victory was very advantageous to *Octavius*, for all *Anthony*'s Land-forces, tho' very firm and reſolute for ſome time, were in a little time after very willing to accept of ſuch Conditions as *Octavius* offer'd, and upon that all yielded to him, *Octavius* generouſly ſparing all but a very ſmall Number, who in a more particular manner were his declar'd Enemies.

Anthony now was carry'd away with melancholly Reflections and deſpairing Thoughts, and through Shame or Anger refus'd to ſee *Cleopatra* for ſeveral Days together; till arriving at *Tenarus*, her Women ſo beſtirr'd themſelves, that they brought 'em to ſee one another, and to eat together. Here News was brought him by ſeveral of his Friends of the Defeat of his Fleet; but not ſuſpecting the Revolt of his Army, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return to *Aſia*, and took what Care he cou'd for the ſafety of his Friends that were about him, offering 'em what Money he had, and commanding 'em to leave him. After this he retir'd to *Africk*, from whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and remain'd almoſt alone, without any other Company than *Ariſtocrates* and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek*, and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Orators. Here *Anthony* heard of the Revolt of his Land-Forces, which put him into ſuch a violent Rage and Deſpair, that he attempted to kill himſelf; but was hinder'd from that fatal Reſolution by the Prayers and Remonſtrances of his Friends, who perſuaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an Enterprize that well ſhew'd the Greatneſs of her Spirit. This Queen had drawn her Galleys upon Carriages for 100 Mile over that Neck of Land which joins *Aſia* to *Africa*, to the *Red-Sea*; where ſhe deſign'd to embark her

ſelf

ſelf with all her Treaſure, and her choiceſt Friends and plant her ſelf in ſome remote part of the World. But the *Arabians* ſoon forc'd her to abandon that Deſign, and thereupon ſhe apply'd her ſelf to fortifie the Avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult Acceſs. *Anthony*'s Behaviour was very different, ſhewing nothing but a ſhameful Weakneſs: He ſhunn'd all Company, and built a Houſe near the *Pharos*, where he ſhut himſelf up without either Friends or Domeſticks, *to imitate* Timon, as he ſaid, *ſince he had no leſs Reaſon to hate Mankind than* that Athenian, *being betray'd by thoſe whom he had moſt oblig'd.* But he cou'd not long force his natural Temper; and therefore, as Debauching is a great Relief to People of his Humour, he quitted his Cell in a little time, and apply'd himſelf wholly to Feaſting and Luxury, and many ſorts of Extravagancies.

U. C. 724.

IV. *Octavius* was now in *Italy*, whither he was recall'd by *Agrippa*'s Letters, after he had paſs'd one part of the Winter in *Athens*, and the other at *Samos*. The occaſion of his Return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of his Soldiers which he had ſent to *Brunduſium* after the Victory, who, after their uſual Cuſtom, had demanded their Rewards and their Diſcharge. *Octavius* ſtay'd at *Brunduſium* but a ſhort time, only while he appeas'd his Soldiers, and gave all neceſſary Orders; after which with his Fleet he ſail'd into *Syria*, while his Army march'd along the Coaſts of *Africk* to attack *Ægypt* on the other ſide. All the Kings of *Aſia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to aſſure him of their Obedience; and none appear'd more forward than *Herod* King of *Judæa*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Octavius*'s Feet, and offer'd him both his Perſon and his Troops. This Prince was one of *Anthony*'s greateſt Friends, and for that Reaſon he had ſo little Hopes

of

of the Succeſs of his Voyage, that in purſuance of his Natural Bent to Cruelty, he left Order with two of his Confidents to put his Wife *Mariamne* to Death, whom he paſſionately lov'd, in caſe he ſhou'd miſcarry. This Secret was reveal'd to *Mariamne* by one of his Inſtruments; and *Herod* being reproach'd with it at his Return, caus'd the Death of this unfortunate Princeſs, who for her admirable Beauty, and her noble Race from that of the *Maccabees*, deſerv'd a better Fate. *Octavius*, to give a famous Inſtance of his Clemency, pardon'd *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and receiv'd him into Favour; but wou'd not ſpare *Alexas* the *Syrian*, who had been *Anthony*'s greateſt Flatterer, and afterwards a moſt perfidious Traytor to him.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* ſeeing themſelves abandon'd by all their Allies, reſolv'd at laſt to ſend *Euphronius*, their Children's Tutor, to make ſome Propoſals to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* privately ſent a Golden Crown and Sceptre, with a Royal Seat, to *Octavius*, asking the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children; and *Anthony* only deſired he might live as a private Man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing he ſhou'd tarry ſtill in *Ægypt*. He abſolutely rejected *Anthony*'s Propoſitions, but ſent to *Cleopatra*, *That there was no manner of Favour which ſhe might not reaſonably expect, if ſhe wou'd either put* Anthony *to Death, or Baniſh him.* With this Anſwer *Euphronius* return'd, and with him *Thyreus*, a Freed-Man of *Octavius*'s, a Perſon very cunning, and fit to manage any Intrigue; who coming with a Meſſage from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princeſs, poſſeſs'd with a mighty Opinion of her own Charms, had no difficult Acceſs to her. But theſe ſecret Conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the Honours ſhe did him, threw *Anthony* into ſuch a furious Paſſion of Jealouſie, that he immediately order'd him to be cruelly ſcourg'd, and in that condition ſent him to

Octa-

Octavius with Letters, *That he had chaſtiz'd* Thyreus *for inſulting over him at a time when his bad Fortune had put him into an ill Humour; but if this Proceeding offended him, he had his Freed-man* Hipparchus *by him, whom he might uſe after the ſame manner, and ſo be upon equal Terms:* Which was a pleaſant way of being reveng'd upon *Hipparchus*, the firſt of *Anthony*'s Freed-men that went over to *Cæſar*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Anthony*'s Mind of Jealouſy and Suſpicion; ſhe redoubled her Fondneſs and Careſſes, and when her Birth-day came, ſhe kept it as was ſuitable to their deplorable Condition; but *Anthony*'s was obſerv'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, ſo that all the Gueſts were enrich'd by the noble Preſents ſhe made upon his account.

In the mean time *Octavius* having gather'd all his Forces together, ſurpriz'd the City of *Peluſium*, which was ſurrender'd to him by *Seleucus*; and it was immediately reported, That this Governour had done it by *Cleopatra*'s Order; but ſhe, to clear her ſelf, delivered up his Wife and Children into *Anthony*'s hands. Near the Temple of *Iſis* ſhe had built a ſtately Building, deſign'd for a Sepulchre. Into this Place ſhe remov'd all her Treaſure, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other ſuch valuable things, and fill'd it beſides with Torches, Faggots, Tow, and other combuſtible matter; ſo that *Octavius* was much afraid leſt out of Deſpair ſhe ſhould burn her ſelf in it, with all thoſe vaſt Riches. Therefore while he was marching towards *Alexandria*, he omitted no occaſion of giving her Aſſurance of his Reſpect and kind Uſage. The nigh approach of ſo formidable a Rival, began once more to rouze up *Anthony*, and reviv'd all thoſe Sparks of Greatneſs and Generoſity in his Breaſt that ſeem'd to have been wholly extinct. *Anthony* now knew that he had no Hopes but of dying like a *Roman*, and this he fully reſolv'd upon: So he rally'd all the Troops he had, made

made a brave Salley upon *Octavius*'s Horſe, and beat them into their Camp, which he put into Diſorder; nor did *Anthony* ever ſhew more Courage and Conduct than now. Upon this Victory, *Anthony* enter'd *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all arm'd to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good News of his Succeſs, preſenting one of his Knights to her, who had behav'd himſelf bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold, but that very Night, this ungrateful Wretch went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous Example much troubled *Anthony*. He try'd to provoke *Octavius*'s Temper, and chalenge'd him to a ſingle Combat; but was coldly anſwer'd, *That* Anthony *had ways enough to die without ſeeking that.*

Anthony now finding his Affairs in a dangerous Condition, reſolv'd to make the laſt Puſh both by Sea and Land, with a full deſign to conquer honourably or die bravely. He order'd his People to treat him chearfully, and fill him his Wine plentifully; *Perhaps*, ſaid he, *this may be the laſt Service you can do, for to morrow you may have another Maſter, while I lie extended upon the Ground, deſpis'd by all Mankind.* Finding his Friends much mov'd at this ſorrowful Diſcourſe, he added, *However, I will not do you ſo great an Injury as to lead ye where Death is more certain than Victory.* At the dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence, on a ſudden was heard a dreadful Noiſe of Voices, Inſtruments, and Cries, like thoſe of *Bacchanals*, which paſs'd thro' *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that look'd towards the Enemies Camp, as *Plutarch* relates it. At break of Day, *Anthony* poſted thoſe few Troops he had remaining, upon the riſing Ground nigh the Town, from whence he ſent Orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanc'd in Order of Battel; but as ſoon as *Anthony*'s Ships approach'd the other, the Soldiers all held down

down their Arms and ſaluted *Octavius*'s; who re turning the Salute, both Fleets joyn'd and ſtoo over-gainſt the City. All his Cavalry ſeeing this left him, and went over to *Octavius*'s Camp, hi Infantry being forc'd preſently to yield.

This unfortunate General, abandon'd thus by hi Men, and finding he cou'd not die with Glory i the Field, return'd back to *Alexandria*, overcom with a dreadful Rage and Fury, running and cry ing out, *That* Cleopatra *had betray'd him, when h had ruin'd all his Fortunes for her Sake alone!* Th Queen hearing of this, in a great Fright retir'd t her Monument, ſecur'd the Doors, and let dow the *Port-cullis*; and then made a Report to be ſprea that ſhe was dead, which was ſoon brought to *An thony*: This ſad and ſudden News recall'd all tha Love and Tenderneſs he had for this Princeſs; O *wretched* Anthony, cry'd he, *What haſt thou here i this World, when Fate has ſnatch'd the only Thing fo which thou cou'dſt endure to live?* Then retiring to hi Cabinet, he laid aſide his Armour, and renew'd hi Complaints; O Cleopatra, ſaid he, *our Separation i not my greateſt Grief, for we ſhall meet again; but wha afflicts me moſt, is, that I, who have commanded ſo many gallant Men, ſhou'd be out-done by a Woman in Courage* Immediately he call'd *Eros*, the moſt faithful of hi Freed-Men, whom he had engag'd by Oath t kill him when he ſhould think it neceſſary, an now bad him perform his Promiſe. *Eros* drew ou his Sword, as if he deſign'd to perform that fata Duty; and turning aſide, gave himſelf a Wound which threw him dead at his Maſter's Feet. *Dea* Eros, cry'd he, *I thank thee for teaching me to do wha I ought my ſelf*; and upon that he thruſt himſelf in to the Belly, and fell backwards upon his Bed. Tho the Wound was Mortal, yet the Blood ſtopping he came to himſelf, and moſt earneſtly begg'd o his Friends to diſpatch him; but they all fled from him

im, leaving him in a miſerable Condition, toſſing nd ſtrugling with the Anguiſh of his Pain, whilſt *Diomedes* came to carry him to *Cleopatra*.

Anthony underſtanding *Cleopatra* yet liv'd, begg'd nd intreated in the moſt moving Manner in the World to be carry'd to her; and with much difficulty and pain they lifted him up to the Door of he Monument. *Cleopatra*, having only her two Women durſt not open the Door, but let down Cords from the Window. All the People of *Alexndria* were preſent at this ſad Spectacle, and nothing appear'd ſo lamentable as to ſee this great Man, enown'd for ſo many Conqueſts and Victories, bath'd n his Blood, and juſt expiring, holding out his Hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raiſe imſelf; and to ſee this famous Queen ſtriving, with er Body juſt out of the Window, with the feeble Aſſiſtance of her Women, to pull him up, the Peole all the time ſeeming to aſſiſt her with their Cries nd Tears. When after much Pain ſhe had drawn im up, ſhe embrac'd him, and laid him gently upn her Bed, tearing all her Cloaths in a moſt vioent Paſſion, beating her Face and Breaſt, and calng *Anthony her Lord, her Husband, her Emperor!* and ho' her own Misfortunes were very great and aſtoniſhing, yet ſhe forgot them all at the ſight of his deplorable Object. *Anthony* begg'd of her *to moderate her Grief and Tranſports*, and ask'd for ſome Wine, either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he hought it wou'd ſoon end him. After he had drank, e exhorted *Cleopatra to endeavour to ſave her Life if ſhe ou'd do it with Honour, and for that End* Proculus *wou'd e her beſt Friend in* Cæſars *Camp; that ſhe wou'd not too eeply reflect upon the cruel Turn of Fortune which he felt n his laſt days, but rather think what Glory and Renown e had liv'd in, famous for ſo many noble Victories, Triumphs and Dignities; and that after he had been the firſt*

Man

Man of the World, and the most Illustrious of all the Romans, he was at last overcome by a Roman.

At the finishing of this Discourse, *Anthony* expired, in the 53d Year of his Age; a Person of as great Spirit and Valour as any among the Romans since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*; yet soften'd, overcome, and entirely ruin'd by a Woman. His Death put an end to all the Civil Wars, and gave *Octavius* Opportunity to make his Fortunes as he pleas'd; and from this Period many Historians date his Reign, others three Years after; and some from *Julius Cæsar*'s Death. This hapned in the 724th Year of the City, the 3d of the 187th *Olympiad*, and the 13th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 14 Years after *Julius Cæsar*'s Death, and 28 before our Saviour's Nativity.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Anthony, *to the perfect Settlement of the Empire by* Octavius, *which finish'd all Disturbances, and brought* Rome *to its utmost Glory.*

Containing the Space of about Three Years.

U. C. 724. I. *Octavius* shew'd great Satisfaction at his Success and Fortune; yet when *Anthony*'s blood Sword was brought to him, the Sight of it obliged him to retire into his Tent, where he cou'd not refrain from Tears, when he reflected upon the deplorable End of a Person so eminent both for Birth and Valour, and one with whom he had contracted

so strict a Friendship and Alliance. He call'd his Friends in, to whom he declar'd, *That he had contributed nothing to the Overthrow of* Anthony, *through any Hatred or Ambition*; shewing 'em the Copies of the Letters he had writ to him, which contain'd nothing but just and reasonable Propoſals, and *Anthony*'s Answers full of Passion and Disdain. After this he sent *Proculus* to employ his utmost Addreſs to seize upon *Cleopatra*, extreamly desiring to save her Treasure, but more especially to grace his Triumph with this Queen, who had so long triumph'd over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refus'd *Proculus* Entrance, but through the Door demanded *Ægypt* for her Children; which caus'd *Proculus*, after observing the Avenues of the Monument, to return to *Octavius*, who the same Instant sent *Gallus* with him to make her new Propoſitions. While *Gallus* was discoursing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculus* with two others enter'd by the Window at which *Anthony* had been drawn up; which one of her Women perceiving, presently shreek'd out, *Wretched Princeſs thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turn'd quick, and drew out her Dagger to stab her self; but *Proculus* caught hold of her, saying, *Madam, will you at once injure your self and* Cæsar, *in depriving him of the most Illustrious Testimony he can give of his Generoſity; and make the best and gentleſt Prince in the World pass for Cruel and Barbarous?* Whereupon he disarm'd her, search'd her lest any Poison shou'd be conceal'd about her; and after he had secur'd her, he return'd to *Octavius* with this joyful News.

Octavius was extreamly satisfy'd to find this haughty Queen at his Disposal, who before had lifted the Crown of *Ægypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He first commanded *Epaphroditus* to Guard her with the greatest Care, and yet to serve her like a Queen; after which he made his Entrance into *Alexandria*

after a ſolemn and pompous Manner. The Majeſty of *Octavius* follow'd by ſo many arm'd Soldiers, who breath'd nothing but Deſtruction, drove the *Ægyptians* into great Fears and Apprehenſions, imploring his Mercy upon their Knees. *Octavius* told 'em, *He pardon'd 'em for the ſake of their illuſtrious Founder* Alexander, *for the extraordinary Beauty of the City, and for his great Eſteem he had for* Arrius *their Fellow-Citizen and Philoſopher.* Several Kings, Princes and *Roman* Senators begg'd of him the Body of *Anthony*, to pay their laſt Reſpects to him, but he wou'd not deprive *Cleopatra* of a Satisfaction ſo dear to her; and more than that, he took Care to furniſh her with what was needful for the Pomp of the Funeral, which ſhe ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Magnificence. *Octavius* took further Care that nothing ſhou'd occaſion the Encreaſe of *Cleopatra's* Afflictions; but the Greatneſs of her Soul, and the Nobleneſs of her Courage, made the Loſs of her Liberty inſupportable to her. Her exceſſive Melancholy, and the many Blows ſhe had given her Breaſts, put her into a ſlow Feaver, which gave her great Hopes of ending her Sorrows, and her Life in a ſhort time. She had beſides reſolv'd to abſtain from Eating, if her Phyſician had not diſcover'd this Secret ſhe had truſted him with to *Octavius*, who immediately threatned to put her Children all to Death, if ſhe perſiſted in her Obſtinacy: This was the only thing ſhe could be ſenſible of, and the Thoughts of this caus'd her to comply, and receive whatever they preſcrib'd her.

After this, *Octavius* reſolv'd to viſit *Cleopatra*, and by his Civilities give her freſh Aſſurance of his Favour. He found her upon a plain Bed, and as ſoon as ſhe perceiv'd him, ſhe roſe in her Shift to throw her ſelf at his Feet, with her Hair in diſorder, her Face torn, her Breaſts bruis'd, her Eyes red with weep-

weeping, and her Voice weak and trembling; all which Accidents cou'd not deface the Brightneſs of her Eyes, nor the Charming Air of her Face. *Octavius* civilly lifted her up, and ſat down by her, and immediately ſhe enter'd upon the juſtifying her Conduct; but when her Art and Skill fail'd her againſt manifeſt Proofs, ſhe turn'd her Diſcourſe into humble Supplications, and deliver'd him an Inventory of all her Treaſure and Jewels. *Seleucus* her Treaſurer accuſing her of concealing ſeveral things, *Cleopatra*, in a great Rage, threw her ſelf out of her Bed, dragg'd him by the Hair, and beat him ſeverely; which ſome think was only a Pretence of ſhewing *Octavius* her beautiful Shape and Body, which ſhe had too great a Confidence in. However *Octavius* only ſmil'd at this Action, and led the Queen to her Bed. O Cæſar, cry'd ſhe, *after the Honour of Viſiting me in this miſerable condition, is it not cruel and barbarous, that a vile Slave ſhou'd accuſe me of laying aſide a few Trifles; alas, not to adorn my ſelf, but to preſent 'em to* Livia *and* Octavia, *that their generous Interceſſion may in ſome meaſure procure your Favour?* This Diſcourſe gave great Satisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it imply'd a Deſire ſhe had of living; and thereupon he aſſur'd her, *She might keep her Jewels, and that he wou'd uſe her more generouſly than ſhe cou'd reaſonably hope for*; and ſo retir'd, much ſatisfy'd with his Succeſs, having, as he ſuppos'd, overreach'd her.

Cleopatra being ſoon after inform'd by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius*'s Favourites, and her Admirer, that *Octavius* had reſolv'd within three Days to ſend her and her Children away, earneſtly begged of *Octavius* to ſuffer her firſt to pay her laſt Oblations to the Memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her. Whereupon ſhe was carry'd to the ſtately Sepulcher where *Anthony* was laid; and only attended by her two

Women, she fell upon her Knees, embrac'd his Tomb with extreme Grief and Passion; and after a Flood of Tears, she cry'd, *My dearest Lord, I was a Queen and wore no Chains when I first plac'd thee in this Monument, but now I pay my Duties. I'm Fortune's Slave; my servile Body is reserv'd to grace the Triumph of thy Foes, on which I dare not so much as print the Marks of my Grief. These Tears, these Pangs of Grief are the last Tokens of the Love and Duty of thy* Cleopatra, *who now must be forc'd far from thee: No Chance cou'd separate us while living, but our cruel Destiny will part us in our Deaths: And as by a strange Turn of Fate* Ægypt *has afforded thee a Tomb, so* Rome *will me, the only Courtesie I shall receive from thy Country. Yet I hope the Heavenly Powers that guard your happy Abode, (for ours have betray'd us) will stem the Conqueror's Pride, and suffer him not to triumph over thee in my Person. Hide me therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb; for among all my bitter Griefs and heavy Afflictions, none e'er press'd my Soul so hard as living thus long without thee.*

Upon the finishing of these sad Lamentations she crown'd the Tomb with Garlands and Flowers, embracing it as if she design'd to grow to it, till her Women took her from thence to a Bath; after which she attir'd her self after a most gorgeous Manner, and eat as sumptuously as she cou'd. After Dinner she clear'd the Room of all except *Iras* and *Charmia*; and having procur'd an Asp to be secretly brought in among Figs, Grapes, and Flowers, she apply'd it to her Arm; just before which she sent a Letter to *Octavius*, wherein she most passionately complain'd of her hard Fate, and very earnestly beseech'd him, *That it might be permitted her to be buried in the same Tomb with* Anthony. *Octavius* in all haste sent some Messengers, who found her dead upon a Golden Bed, adorn'd with her Royal Robes, in Posture of one

one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her Feet, and *Charmia* just breathing, and placing her Diadem right. One of the Messengers very angrily ask'd, *Is this well done* Charmia? *Extreamly well*, reply'd she, *and becoming a Princess descended from so noble a Race of Monarchs*; at which she expir'd at her Mistresses Feet. *Octavius* was extreamly troubl'd at *Cleopatra*'s Death, as being depriv'd of the noblest Ornament of his Triumph: However, he cou'd not but admire the greatness of her Courage, who notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex, preferr'd Death before the loss of her Liberty, or the Appearing below her Quality. He order'd her a Magnificent Funeral, laying her Body by *Anthony*'s, according to her Desire; and her Women were interr'd with considerable Pomp in Memory of their Fidelity. She was then thirty eight Years of Age, having reign'd twenty two, twelve whereof she pass'd with *Anthony*; and her Death put an End to the *Ægyptian* Kingdom, which had flourish'd for many Ages. Her Son *Cæsario*, which she had by *Julius Cæsar*, was shortly after slain by *Octavius*'s Orders, who was told by *Arrius* the Philosopher, *That many* Cæsars *were of dangerous Consequence*. *Ægypt* was now intirely reduc'd into a Province, and *Octavius* caus'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Chanels of the *Nile*, which much improv'd the Fertility of the Soil: And since this Kingdom much enlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, especially as to Riches, and his entire Victories brought Peace to the *Roman* State, at his Return he was receiv'd at *Rome* with an universal Joy and Satisfaction, as a Person who had put an End to the Miseries and Calamities in the greatest part of the World. He triumph'd three Days; for *Illyrium*, for the Battle of *Actium*, and the Conquest of *Ægypt*, with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; all which were attended with a happy shutting of

the Temple of *Janus*, which had ſtood open 205 Years.

U. C. 725. II. *Octavius Cæſar* now finding himſelf Lord and Governour of the *Roman* Empire, partly by the Authority with which the People had at ſeveral times inveſted him, and partly by the Ruine of his Enemies; after this reſolv'd to exerciſe all the Clemency of a ſweet-temper'd Prince, and all the Cunning of an exquiſite Politician. To aſſure himſelf of *Anthony*'s Adherents was his firſt and principal Care, to which End he publickly reported, that he had burnt all *Anthony*'s Letters and Papers, without reading them; well knowing, that as long as any thought themſelves ſuſpected Adverſaries, they wou'd never ſhew themſelves real Friends. To the Senators and Magiſtrates he made ſumptuous Feaſts and Treats; to the *Plebeians* and Common Sort he exhibited magnificent Shows and Plays; and both he entertain'd with ſuch Variety of Pleaſures, as might reaſonably baniſh their Sorrows for the old *Proſcription*, and remove their fears of a new. With great Wiſdom and Dexterity he regulated many Abuſes and Corruptions in the State; and tho' he wou'd not give up the leaſt part of his Authority, yet he exercis'd it with that Diſcretion and Moderation, that the Common-wealth was more happy under his Government, than when it enjoy'd all its Privileges. He allow'd the People all their due Liberties, only retrench'd the Liberty of making Factions and Diſſentions in the State, and to the Senate he reſtor'd their ancient Splendour, but baniſh'd their late Corruption: He contented himſelf with a moderate Power, which wou'd not afford him the Freedom of doing Ill; but he made it Abſolute, when it impos'd upon others the Neceſſity of doing Well. So that the People were not leſs free, but in

Mat-

Matters of Sedition; nor the Senate leſs powerful, but in Matters of Injuſtice; and the *Romans* ſeem'd to have loſt nothing of the Happineſs that Liberty might produce, but only the Misfortunes it might occaſion.

Octavius having eſtabliſh'd ſo good an Order, found himſelf extreamly embarraſs'd with various Thoughts and Opinions, and long conſider'd with himſelf, whether he ought to retain the Government of the Empire, or reſtore the People to their firſt Liberty. The eminent Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæſar*, put him to many Doubts and Scruples, when he conſider'd that the former, who had voluntarily quitted his Authority, dy'd peaceably in the midſt of his Enemies; and the latter, for retaining of it, was aſſaſſinated by his moſt intimate Friends. But then he conſider'd on the other ſide, that the Common-wealth had been ſo extreamly harraſs'd and broken by violent Factions and Civil Wars, that the Yoke wou'd prove their greateſt Relief, eſpecially as he wou'd manage it. He found likewiſe that the People of *Rome* had loſt moſt of their ancient Vigour and Deſire of Liberty, and the Senate as much of its ancient Firmneſs and Reſolution; and that there were ſuch numerous Corruptions and ſuch dangerous Diſtempers in the State, that nothing but a Change cou'd cure or correct 'em. As he conſider'd that both Senate and People never wanted a Head ſo much as at preſent, the Advantage of which they were in this ſhort time ſenſible of, ſo theſe Conſiderations gave him great Hopes, and almoſt as great Reſolutions. However, this moſt wary Prince thought it highly neceſſary for his own Security to conſult his two intimate Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former moſt famous for his Courage and Valour, and the latter for his great natural Endowments. *Octavius* taking theſe two into his Cloſet,

ſet, ask'd their Advice, telling 'em among other things, *That they were his Friends, therefore he had made 'em his Judges, as Men that were able to ſpeak Soundly, and willing to ſpeak Freely: That he knew 'em to have a greater Care of his Honour than his Profit, but more of the Common-wealth than of both.*

Agrippa return'd the firſt Anſwer to this purpoſe; *You may well admire, my generous Lord, that I, who am certain of an uncommon Promotion under your Empire, ſhou'd adviſe you to a private Retirement; but ſince I eſteem your Honour above my own Profit, and the Publick Good before my particular Preferment, I am ſure you will pardon me. You have now glorioufly finiſh'd the Civil Wars, and brought an honourable Peace to your Country; but what will the Advantage be, without a Reſtoration of that Liberty for which thoſe Wars were begun? Or what benefit can the People reap from ſo noble a Victory, if it be us'd only as an Inſtrument for their greater Slavery? A Word ſo odious to the* Roman *Nation, that whenever that has ſeem'd to have been aim'd at by any Perſon, no Vertues cou'd ſhield him, no Merits protect him, no Services ſecure him from the Rage of the People; no, not thoſe of your great Father* Julius: *And can you hope to eſcape? But ſay, That the Divine Power ſhou'd ſo protect you as to out-live ſuch Dangers, wou'd you alſo out-live your Glories? Are you willing that Poſterity ſhou'd brand you with Tyranny and perhaps with Baſeneſs, in curbing and putting a ſtop to the Fame and Grandeur of your Country? A Country which has gain'd all its Renown and Reputation, and owes all its great and glorious Acts to a Government quite contrary to what you ſeem inclin'd; and a Government under which other Nations have generally been moſt proſperous and flouriſhing. Therefore your generoſity ſhou'd lead you to ſet your Country free, and ſince you are already Maſter of the Worlds Forces, and without Rival in the Empire, and have both Senate and People at your Mercy; to do it now would ſtrike all Detraction dumb, and make*

future

uture Ages ſtand amaz'd at the Greatneſs of your Temper.

Mecænas on the other ſide declar'd his Thoughts after this manner: *Be not deceiv'd, moſt noble Prince, with the ſpecious Shew of Words and Names; but ſince juſt Heaven has ordain'd you a Father, as well as a Maſter of your Country, rather hearken to her real Wants and Neceſſities, than to the fallacious Clamours of the Rabble, who like Children cry for what wou'd prove their Ruine. Our Republick is a Ship fraught with Multitudes of various Nations, and deſtitute of a Pilot, which for many Years has been miſerably toſs'd and ſhatter'd, and is now ready to be caſt away, without your relieving Hand to ſave it. In former times indeed this thriving Empire did not ſeem to want a Monarch; but it is now grown too vaſt and unweildy, to ſubſiſt without one. Formerly the ſtrictneſs of the* Roman *Diſcipline and Morality, and the Fears of rival Nations kept the Commonwealth from ſinking: Yet in thoſe pure Times, what Commotions in State, what Revolutions in Government, what Diviſions and Diſtractions were occaſion'd by the* Tribunes *Rage and Peoples Madneſs?* Camillus, Rome's *ſecond Founder, and* Scipio, *that Scourge of* Carthage *were diſgrac'd, and the great* Coriolanus *baniſh'd, only becauſe their Worth alone had lifted 'em above the ordinary Pitch of Subjects. But then to mention all the numerous Troubles and dreadful Miſeries of theſe latter Times, were to revive our Sorrows, which you in a great Meaſure have allay'd; and ſince by your Means your Country has recover'd ſome of her Spirits, it is your Duty to eſtabliſh her in perfect Health, which can be no ways done but by retaining the Empire. And this Advice is not only for the good of your Country, but alſo for the Security of your Perſon: For the reſigning of your Authority wou'd be the parting with your Safety.* Pompey *was contemn'd after the Disbanding of his Army at* Brunduſium; *and tho' your Uncle* Julius *fell, it was not for retaining his Power, but for graſping of it too*

ſtrongly,

ſtrongly, which you know better how to manage. In the gaining of an Empire there is no Medium between the Death of an Enemy, and the Life of a Prince; and ſince you have already gone ſo far, you muſt either reſolve to be Greateſt in the State, or leaſt among the People, to be Cæſar *or Nothing.*

Octavius thank'd 'em both for their friendly Advice, and after ſome dubious Expreſſions, declar'd himſelf rather inclin'd to *Mecænas*'s Opinion; withal telling them, *That he was but the Inſtrument of the Deſtinies, to put their Wills in Execution; and ſince they had already ſhewn themſelves ſo favourable to him, he had all the Reaſon to hope that his Friends wou'd not be backward in their Councils, or any other neceſſary Aſſiſtance.* Upon which *Mecænas* proceeded to give him many wiſe Inſtructions and Directions, how to manage his Affairs to the beſt Advantage, both as to his Countries Happineſs, and his own Security, as may be ſeen at large in *Dion Caſſius.* Among a great many other things, he told him, *That his virtuous Behaviour wou'd be a greater Security to him than all his Forces: That if the People found him modeſt and unblamable in his Life, not exacting Money from others while he abounded in Riches, not pinching others while he was luxurious, nor puniſhing others while he was looſe and licentious, they would certainly love and honour him as a true Father and Preſerver of his Country.* But this he told him as his principal Rule by which he ought to guide himſelf; *Always to preſerve the Love of his Subjects; and if he wou'd do exactly as he himſelf wou'd expect from his Prince, if he were a Subject, then he ſhou'd not fail of being proſperous in his Deſigns, happy in his Life, and famous in Hiſtory.* He concluded all with telling him, *That if in taking upon him the Sovereign Power, he fear'd the Name of Kingdom as odius, he might omit that, and manage all under the Title of* Cæſar: *If he thought not that ſufficient, they wou'd give*

him

him that of Imperator, *and wou'd adorn him with ſome other venerable Note of Honour; ſo that he might enjoy all the Privileges of a* Kingdom *without the envious Name of* King, *which the* Romans *cou'd not endure.* All theſe Things confirm'd *Cæſar* in his former Opinions; and from this time he began to purſue his Deſigns with more Care and Diligence than ever.

III. The *Romans* were now arriv'd to their utmoſt Height as to polite Learning, and an exquiſite Taſte of Things, as appears from their ſeveral Writings: For beſides *Virgil*, formerly mention'd, at this time flouriſh'd the two great Wits, *Ovid* and *Horace*, the pleaſanteſt and perfecteſt Poets in their Kinds; and likewiſe *Livy*, the Prince of all the *Roman* Hiſtorians; all which had a great ſhare in *Octavius*'s Familiarity, as well as *Mecænas*'s. *Octavius* was a great Promoter of all ſorts of Learning, and having brought a General Peace to the *Roman* Empire, he had a fairer Opportunity both of encouraging that, and of following his other Deſigns. He had an admirable Faculty of diſcerning and penetrating into the Humours and Ambitions of the principal Men; in which he was much aſſiſted by the Letters found in *Anthony*'s Coffers, which he carefully preſerv'd, and ſecretly made uſe of as he found Occaſion. As for Words and Libels, he took little or no Notice of, having learnt that both from his Uncle *Julius* and *Mecænas*, *Never to be concern'd at what was ſpoken againſt him.* And this Maxim he found much to his Advantage; for by this he not only underſtood the Minds and Affections of the People more eaſily, but perceiv'd that as long as the Common Sort retain'd this Liberty of Speech, they were the leſs ſenſible of the Loſs of Liberty in State.

Octavius

Octavius was now in his fifth Conſulſhip, and by the Advice of *Mecænas*, he took upon him the Title of *Imperator*, not in that Senſe it was anciently wont to be given for Victories obtain'd, but in reſpect of the Chief Command or Authority, as it had been decreed to his Uncle *Julius*. And the great Induſtry of *Agrippa* was no leſs ſerviceable to him than the wiſe Counſels of *Mecænas*; and notwithſtanding he had at firſt adviſ'd him to contrary Methods, he now prov'd as uſeful an Aſſiſtant as the other. Shortly after he was made *Cenſor*, and *Agrippa* with him; and among other things belonging to his Office, he took great Care to purge and reform the Senate into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebians* had crept, during the late Civil Wars; and then increas'd their Number to a Thouſand, which his Uncle had brought to nine Hundred. All this he did with great Moderation and Diſcretion, always ſhewing much Reſpect to that venerable Aſſembly; and tho' he continually diminiſh'd their Power and Authority, he ſtill preſerv'd their ancient Glory and Dignity, well knowing that *Julius*'s Contempt of the Senate, did moſt of all forward his Ruine; he put two Perſons, namely, *Cluilius* and *Furnius*, into the Rank of *Conſulares*, becauſe they had been deſign'd for Conſuls, tho' prevented by others. He alſo rank'd certain Families among the *Patricians*, becauſe moſt of thoſe had periſh'd in the late Wars. One great and publick Way of bridling the Nobility, was his publiſhing an Edict, forbidding any *Senator* to travel out of *Italy* without his Leave; a thing very ſtrictly obſerv'd by his Succeſſors: For he well knew that the Preſence and Authority of Perſons of that honourable Rank might raiſe great Commotions in an unſettled State. Yet not wholly to impriſon 'em, he gave 'em Liberty

1000 *Senators.*

to

to visit *Sicily*, and *Gallia Narbonensis*, Provinces adjoining to the Continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurnish'd for Wars, and by reason of their Variety of Pleasures, more likely to weaken their Minds than to arm their Bodies.

In the following Year, *Octavius* having enter'd upon his sixth Consulship, together with *Agrippa* his Collegue, made a *Lustrum*, which was many Years after the last Celebration of one, and in this were four Millions and 63 Thousand Polls of *Romans*, in which Number must be reckon'd all Women, Children, Servants, and Slaves; a Number almost incredible, if compar'd with the present Cities of the World, but the less, if we consider the prodigious bigness of the City and Suburbs, which good Authors affirm to have been fifty Miles in Compass at this time. *Octavius* at that time likewise celebrated Games, which had been Decreed in Memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was order'd that they shou'd be renew'd every fifty Year, four Colleges of Priests taking care of 'em; namely, the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecemviri*, by Courses. He caus'd many other delightful Games and Exercises to be made, all at his own Cost and Charges, using all possible Methods to divert the People from fixing their Minds upon his Actions, and their ancient Freedom. He order'd that two Persons of *Prætorian* Rank shou'd Yearly over-see the Treasury, and gave to the People four times as much Corn as they were wont to have; to some Senators he gave Money, some of this Rank being so poor, that they cou'd not bear Offices belonging to their Dignity. All Ingagements and Debts to the Exchequer he made void that stood good before the Battel at *Actium*, except what concern'd Buildings. He suffer'd no Sacrifice to be offer'd to *Ægyptian* Gods with-

U. C. 726.

in

in the *Pomærium*, and took great Care about ſetling Religion, and repairing of the Temples. And becauſe many unjuſt Things had been ordain'd during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, eſpecially in the laſt *Triumvirate*, he made 'em all void by one Edict and caus'd 'em to ceaſe from his ſixth Conſulſhip. Thus *Octavius* more and more ſetled the Peace of the City, and gain'd the Hearts and Affections of the People.

U. C. 727. IV. *Octavius* now entring upon his ſeventh Conſulſhip, and finding all Matters ripe for his Purpoſe, he went to the Senate-houſe, after he had prepar'd all the Senators who were for his Intereſt, and in a ſtudied Speech ſpoke to this Effect. *When I conſider with my ſelf the immenſe Greatneſs and boundleſs Extent of the* Roman Empire, *I am ſtrucken with Surprize, nay, and Amazement, to imagine that any Mortal dare undertake the ſole Adminiſtration of ſo vaſt a State. What Nation hath not either begg'd Peace at our Gates, or felt the Fury of our Arms at their own? And what Countries have not we conquer'd and brought to Subjection; making the Riſing and Setting of the Sun the bounds of our Dominions? Therefore it muſt proceed from a wild and extravagant Opinion of their own Abilities, when they pretended to bear that Burden which none but the Immortal Gods cou'd ſuſtain. As for my own Part, who may with Modeſty affirm that I have put an End to all Domeſtick Wars, and have brought Peace to the City, I dare not preſume to attempt it. Tho' I am invited to it by all the powerful Charms of commanding the greateſt People upon Earth, and the moſt glorious Empire next Heaven, and alſo entic'd by the faireſt* Opportunity *of eſtabliſhing my ſelf that ever* Roman *had; yet I freely diveſt my ſelf of all that Power and Authority, which my Arms have gain'd, and you have given me: An Action which I preſume is no leſs glo-*

rious

rious than just, far exceeding the Conquests of Gaul, *of* Britain, *and of* Ægypt; *an Action no less hardy than those bold Performances of* Cocles, *of* Scævola, *of* Curtius, *of* Regulus, *and of the* Decii. *And further to shew you, that the true Spirit of the ancient* Romans *is not extinct in me, I do not only restore to you all your former Laws and Privileges, and such Things as I have been intrusted with, but likewise all that I have further acquir'd since my first Authority; and may this Action prove auspicious and fortunate to my Country.*

Octavius enlarg'd much upon the Particulars, and upon the finishing his Speech, the Minds of the Senators were variously affected. Many knew his Design, and therefore agreed with his Intentions; the rest either suspected his Aim, or believ'd his Words. Of these, some admir'd his Policy in concealing his Purposes; others were concern'd at his Design, some at his Cunning, and others at his Refusal of the Government. Many hated the popular Form of Government as dangerous in these Times, and approv'd of the Change, being well satisfy'd with *Octavius*'s Administration. Most of the rest being worn and wearied out with their many vain Struglings for their Liberty, and very desirous of Ease and Rest, chose rather the Present Estate with Security, than to strive to recover the Old with Danger. So that the Product of their several Affections were the same; for those who wish'd he was reduc'd to a private Condition, were very fearful of what might follow; and such as desir'd he might retain his Power, were as sorry for the Loss of their Hopes. Neither cou'd they who did not believe him, reprehend him; for some wanted the Will, and others the Courage to do it. No Man, whether he believ'd his Speech or not, durst commend it, be-

becauſe a great many were diſpleaſed with it, and as many afraid of it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilſt ſpeaking, ſoon after he had done, they unanimouſly beſought him with many Words and Entreaties, *That he alone wou'd take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government*; and after many Arguments and Perſuaſions, they compell'd him, as it were, to accept of the Sovereignty. And that his Perſon might be more ſafely preſerv'd, they immediately decreed the Pay of his Guard to be double to that of all other Soldiers.

Thus *Octavius Cæſar* by his Artifice of pretending to lay down all his Power and Authority, got it confirm'd to him both by Senate and People. Yet that he might ſeem to be Popular, he refus'd to govern all the Provinces, or to have a perpetual Power over ſuch as he ſhou'd take care of; Therefore the weaker and inward Provinces being in a more peaceable Poſture, he left to the Senate; the moſt powerful and outward Provinces, and thoſe moſt expos'd to Enemies, he kept to himſelf, ſaying, *That he deſir'd that the Fathers might enjoy their Power with all Eaſe and Safety, while he himſelf ſhou'd undergo all the Labour and Danger.* But by this politick Contrivance he render'd the Senate uſeleſs and of no effect, and by this he engroſs'd all the Soldiers and Militia to himſelf. To the Senate and People were left *Africk* and *Numidia*, *Libya* call'd *Cyrenaica*, *Aſia Minor*, *Greece*, with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* call'd *Bætica*. *Cæſar* kept the reſt of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as alſo *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *&c.* which were Frontier Provinces. Over theſe Provinces he aſſum'd the Government but for ten Years, well remembring how dangerous the Word *Perpetual* had been to his Uncle *Julius*; and adding, *That as ſoon as he cou'd quiet them, he*

he wou'd quit his Power. After this he ſet over the Provinces of both ſorts of Men of *Patritian* Dignity, but over *Ægypt* one of the *Equeſtrian* Rank only, and with the loweſt Title of all other Governours, fearing leſt a Perſon of the higheſt Rank preſuming upon the Wealth and Situation of that Country ſhou'd prove dangerous to the *Roman* State. He alotted *Africk* and *Aſia* to Senators, and the reſt of the Provinces to *Prætorians*; but forbidding either to take upon 'em this Employment within five Years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Government but for a Year; and as ſoon as Succeſſors were ſent 'em, they were immediately to depart the Provinces, and not to fail of being at *Rome* within three Months.

As ſoon as *Octavius* had but made his Oration about reſigning his Command, and diſtributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferr'd on him, as that Laurel ſhou'd be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon thoſe Trees Oaken Garlands to be hung, as for one who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and Preſerver of Citizens. The Houſe of the Emperor alſo was for the future call'd the *Palatium* or *Palace*, not by any Decree, but becauſe *Octavius* liv'd on the *Palatium* or *Palatine Hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*: His Houſe alſo receiv'd ſome Dignity from the Mount it ſelf, becauſe *Romulus* liv'd there; therefore afterwards, if the Emperors were remov'd elſewhere, yet the Houſes were ſtill call'd *Palatia*, or *Palaces*. Immediately after the Provinces were divided, and all Publick Affairs ſetled, it was debated in the Senate, Whether *Octavius* ought to have the Title of *Romulus*, becauſe he had founded the Empire; but the more venerable Name of *AUGUSTUS*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length ſeem'd

Palatium

Auguſtus

moſt agreeable; for Sacred Places and Temples conſecrated by *Augurs* were term'd *Auguſta* by the *Romans*. *Cæſar*, tho' he much deſir'd that of *Romulus*, yet perceiving he ſhou'd be ſuſpected of affecting the Title of *King*, declin'd it, and was ſirnam'd *Auguſtus*, intimating ſomething in him more than *Mortal*; and this he accepted of, as a Title expreſſing more Dignity and Reverence, than Authority. And Things are call'd *Auguſta*, which are moſt worthy of Honour, and moſt Sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* expreſs it by Σέβας Θ, or *Venerable*. From this Day forward began the Sovereign Power and Authority to be in the Hands of one Man, and by a Law call'd *Lex Regia*, all the Power of the People and Senate was transferr'd upon *Auguſtus*. When his ten Years were expir'd, ten more were added, and after that as many more, ſo that he had his Authority ſtill continu'd for his Life; for which Cauſe his Succeſſors, tho' they had the Power ſetled on 'em for the Term of Life, yet at the End of every ten Years, ſolemniz'd as it were the Renewing of it.

Thus *Auguſtus Cæſar* became Supreme Governour of the *Roman* People, neither by Inheritance, nor Uſurpation, nor Conqueſt, nor Election, yet by means of 'em all. This great Change of Government hapned in the 727th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3978, in the ſecond Year of the 188th *Olympiad*, 482 Years ſince the Beginning of the *Conſular State*, 303 ſince the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, 33 ſince the Beginning of the *Mix'd State*, 17 ſince the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, and 25 before our Saviour's Nativity.

Here ended the greateſt *Common-wealth* in the World, and at the ſame time began the greateſt *Monarchy*; a Monarchy ſo well fix'd, and firmly ſettled, that not all the Tyrannical Carriage of thoſe

Monſters

Monsters of Men that succeeded *Augustus*, cou'd make it; a Monarchy, which if it be consider'd with others, as to its Power and Riches, together with its Extent and Continuance, there is scarce any room left for Comparison; and a Monarchy which the *Romans*, for many Years, believ'd Indissoluble and Immortal. The *Roman* Dominions were now almost brought to their utmost Extent, containing in *Europe*, *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Panonia*, with some Part of *Britain* and *Germany*; In *Asia*, all those Provinces which went under the Name of *Asia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, with Part of *Mesopotamia* and *Media*; and in *Africa*, *Ægypt*, *Africk*, *Numidia*. *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*; besides many Islands, and some Parts of other Provinces. All which comprehended the greatest, and far the best Part of *Europe*, with very large Parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, being no less than between 3 and 4000 Miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly Revenues of the Empire, by a moderate Computation, it has been reckon'd at nigh forty Millions of our Money, whereof *Gaul* paid five, and that without being extremely burdensome to the People. But what still makes it seem greater, is what *Vespasian* told the Senate at his coming to the Empire, that he wanted 40000000 of *Sestertiums* to settle the Commonwealth, which amounts to 312000000 of our Money.

As for the *Romans* themselves, they had now nothing so elevated a Temper, either for the Greatness of Genius, or the Force of the Soul, as in some time in the Republick; but had something more Polite and Sociable; and never were more glorious, or at least, more pleasant Times than now, all Wars and Contests ceasing, all Arts and Sciences flourishing, and all Riches and Pleasures increasing.

In ſhort, *Auguſtus* made the World happy, and wa happy in the World; he had nothing to deſire of th Publick, nor the Publick of him: And conſiderin the many Evils he occaſion'd before he came to th Empire, and the great Good he did after he wa Emperor, it was ſaid with good reaſon, *That h ſhou'd never have been born, or never have dy'd.* Bu for his Actions afterwards, and his further Settleme of the Empire, I muſt leave to the other Volume o this Hiſtory.

FINIS.

An INDEX of the principal Things, relating more particularly to the Ancient *Magistrates, Laws, Buildings, Customs,* &c. of *Rome.*

A.

Actio Juris, Pag. 113.
Ædilis, 185.
Ædilis Curulis, 148, 149. 366.
Agraria Lex, 96.
Aprilis, 23.
Augustus 49.

C.

Candidatus, 80.
Capitol, 37, 49, 264.
Celer, 11.
Censor, 124, 152, 365.
Census, 41, 42.
Centuria, 41.
Classus, 41.
Client, 9.
Cloacæ, 37.
Comitia Centuriata, 42.
Comitia Curiata, 9.
Comitia Tributa, 102.
Consul, 59, 60, 65, 147, 152, 292, 314, 365.
Curia, 8.

D.

December, 24.
Decemviri, 110.
Decuria, 9.
Dictator, 74, 75, 76, 151, 204, 207, 267, 355, 365, 380.
Duumviri, 28.

E.

Equites, 242, 243.

F.

Februarius, 241, 242.
Fecial, 21, 31, 32.

I.

Januarius, 23.
Janus, 21.
Imperator, 365.
Interrex, 18.
Jugum, 106.
Julian Year, 361, 362.
July, 24, 367.
June, 24.
Jupiter Feretrius, 12.
Jupiter Indiges, 3.
Jus Civile, 113.
Jus Honorarium, 113.

L.

Legatus, 115.
Legio, 14.
Lictor, 11.
Ludi Fescennini, 150, 192.
Ludi Seculares, 192.
Ludi Terentini, 193.
Lustrum, 42, 124.

M.

Magister Equitum, 75, 355.
Maia, 24.
Mancipium, 43.
Manipulares, 6.
Mars, 23.

Mercedonius, 23.
Months, 23, 24.

N.

November, 24.
Nundina, 16.

O.

October, 24.
Opima Spolia, 12, 126, 196.
Ovatio, 71.

P.

Pagus, 22.
Palatium, 449.
Patres Conscripti, 10.
Patres minorum Gentium, 35.
Patritius, 9.
Patronus, 9.
Pecunia, 44.
Plebeius, 9.
Plebiscitum, 113.
Pomærium, 7.
Pompilian Year, 23, 24.
Pontifex, 21.
Præfectus Urbis, 10.
Prætor, 147, 148, 160, 195, 219, 366.
Principalis Constitutio, 113.
Publicanus, 243.

Q.

Quadrata, 14.
Quæstor, 65, 129, 366.
Quintilis, 24, 367.
Quirinus, 17.
Quirites, 14.

R.

Rex, 8.
Rex Sacrorum, 53.
Rostra, 160.

S.

Salius, 21.
Satirus, 192.
Senatus, 10, 14, 35, 366
Senatus Consultum, 113.
September, 24.
Sextilis, 24.
Slaves, 43.

T.

Tarpeia Rupes, 13.
Tribus, 8, 15, 41, 70, 143, 151, 161, 165, 167, 192.
Tribuni Militum, 123, 128, 131, 147.
Tribuni Plebis, 83, 84, 87, 89, 90, 106, 268, 292, 355.
Tribunus Celerum, 11.
Triumphus, 71.
Triumvirate First, 293, 295.
Triumvirate Second, 384, 385.
Triumviri Capitales, 169.
Twelve Tables, 112.

V.

Vestal Virgins, 21, 35.
Vindicta, 63.

AN

INDEX

Of the Principal

MEN and MATTERS

IN THIS

HISTORY.

A.

ACtium: *See* Battel.

Æmilius Paulus *his Actions in the Second* Macedonian *War*, Page 228, 229

Æneas, *his Arrival and Settlement in* Italy 3

Afranius *and* Petreus, *their War againſt* Julius Cæſar, *and their Loſſes*, 329, 330. *Their Deaths*, 358

Agrippa, Menenius: *See* Menenius.

Agrippa, Vipſanius, *beats young* Pompey, 410. *And* Anthony's *Forces at* Actium, 424. *His Speech to* Octavius *about his laying down the Empire*, 440, 441

Allobrogick *War*, 251, 252

Ancus Marcius, *the fourth King of* Rome, *his Reign*, 30 to 34

Annibal *the* Carthaginian *General: See* Hannibal.

Annibal *the* Carthaginian *Admiral his ill Succeſſes, and Death*, 184, 185

Anthony: *See* Antonius Marcus.

Antiochian *War, or the War with* Antiochus *King of* Syria, 221 to 224

INDEX.

Antonius, Caius, *the Conſul defeats* Cataline, 288
Antonius, Marcus, *his Management in relation to* Julius Cæſar's *Death*, 375 to 378. *His Attempts of raiſing himſelf*, 379, 380, 381. *Is beaten at* Mutina, 382. *He joins in the ſecond* Triumvirate, 384, 385. *His Acts againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius, 391, 392. *His Eaſtern Journey*, 396, 397. *Falls in love with* Cleopatra, 399. *His luxurious and prodigal Life with her*, 403, 404, 416 to 419. *His Marriage with* Octavia, 405. *His ill ſucceſs againſt the* Parthians, 414. *Falls out with* Octavius, 417, &c. *He challengeth* Octavius *twice*, 421, 429. *Is beaten by him at* Actium, 424, 425. *Treats with* Octavius, 427. *His Diſpair, Death, and Character*, 430, 431, 432.
Antonius, Lucius, *his Brother raiſes a War againſt* Octavius, *and is worſted*, 401, 402, 403.
Appius, *one of the* Decemvirate, *his ambitious Deſign*, 111, 112. *His Tyranny, Luſt, and Death*, 116 to 119
Archimedes, *his famous Works and Death*, 209.
Ariſtobulus, *King of* Judæa, *conquer'd by* Pompey, 282, 283.
Auguſtus Cæſar: *See* Octavius.
Authors: See Writers.

B.

Battels, the Principal were at Actium, 423, 424, 425. *At* Allia, 137. *At* Cannæ, 205, 206. *At* Dyrrachium, 339, 340. *At* Munda, 363, 364. *At* Pharſalia, 343 to 348. *At* Philippi, 392, 393. *At* Trebia, 200, 201. *At* Thraſymene, 202. *At* Regillus, 76, 77. *At* Zama, 216, 217.
Brutus, Decimus, *one of the Conſpirators with* M. Brutus *againſt* Julius Cæſar, *his Actions and Death*, 381, 382.
Brutus, Lucius Junius, *his politick Deſigns*, 49, 50. *He overthrows the Kingdom of* Rome, 52 to 55. *Cauſes the*

the Execution of his own Sons, 62, 63. *His Death.*
Brutus, Marcus, *joins with* Pompey, 332. *Together with* Caſſius, *conſpires againſt* Julius Cæſar *and kills him*, 370 to 373. *His and* Caſſius's *Succeſs in the Eaſt*, 389, 390. *Sees a Ghoſt, and his Diſcourſe with* Caſſius *concerning it*, 390, 391. *Another Diſcourſe with him before the Battel at* Philippi, 391, 392. *Both their Defeats and Deaths*, 392, 393, 394.

C.

Cæſar: *See both* Julius *and* Octavius.
Calpurnia, *Wife to* Julius Cæſar, *her Dream*, 372
Calpurnius Flemma, *his great Valour*, 185
Camillus, Furius, *takes the City of* Veii, 132, 133. *His extraordinary Generoſity at* Falerii, 134. *His Baniſhment*, 135. *He ſaves his Country*, 141, 142. *His after Acts both at home and abroad*, 142 to 149.
Capitolinus: *See* Manlius Capitolinus.
Carthaginian *War*: *See* Punick *War*.
Caſſius *the Conſul, his ambitious Deſigns and Death*, 95, 96.
Caſſius *the Prætor, ſurrenders his Fleet to* Julius Cæſar, 350. *For his other Actions, See* Brutus Marcus.
Cataline, *his Conſpiracy againſt the State*, 283, 284. *Is reprimanded by* Cicero, *and leaves the City*, 285. *Is defeated and ſlain*, 288.
Cato Porcius, *the Elder, his Behaviour towards the Women and his Soldiers*, 221 *And towards* Scipio Africanus, 225. *His great Enmity to* Carthage, 230
Cato, Porcius, *the Younger, his Grandſon, his Management in* Cataline's *Conſpiracy*, 287, 288. *Oppoſes* Pompey, 291. *And* Julius Ceſar, 292. *His Opinion concerning Bribery*, 296. *He is ſent from* Rome *by* Clodius's *means*, 300. *His nice Advice in* Pompey's *Camp*, 332, 333. *His remarkable Death*, 358, 359.
Caudium, *the Diſhonourable Treaty, and its Effects*, 164, 165.

Cicero, *the renown'd Orator, procures* Pompey *his first great Authority*, 277. *His skilful Management in* Cataline's *Conspiracy*, 284 to 288. *His Banishment*, 299, 300. *His Restoration*, 303, 304. *Pleads for* Milo *in vain*, 314. *Desires a Triumph without success*, 319, 320. *Procures* Anthony *to be declar'd Enemy to the State*, 381. *His Death by the second* Triumvirate, *and Character*, 385, 386
Cimbrian *War*, 251, 252
Cincinnatus, Quintius, *is chosen Consul and Dictator both times from the Plow*, 105, 106
Cinna *the Consul, joins with* Marius, *and acts in the first Civil War*, 259, &c. *His Death*, 263
Cisalpine-Gallick *War*, 195, 196
Civil-War, the first between Marius *and* Sylla, 258 to 271. *The second between* Julius Cæsar *and* Pompey, 321 to 348. *Continu'd by* Cato *and* Pompey's *Sons*, 357 to 364. *The third between the second* Triumvirate *and* Brutus *and* Cassius, 389 to 394. *The fourth between* Octavius Cæsar *and* M. Anthony, 420 to 432
Clelia, *her great Bravery*, 68, 69
Cleopatra, *Queen of* Ægypt, *her Enterview with* Julius Cæsar, 352. *The Favours she receiv'd from him*, 355. *Her Character and famous Enterview with* M. Anthony, 397, 398, 399. *Her Management of him*, 403, 404, 415. *Her Prodigality*, 416, 417. *Her great Designs*, 425, 426. *Treats with* Octavius, 427. *She retires to the Temple of* Isis, 428. *Her Carriage towards* Octavius, 434, 435. *Her Lamentations over* Anthony's *Tomb, and Death*, 436, 437
Clodius, *his Attempts upon* Julius Cæsar's *Wife*, 289. *His Tribuneship*, 298, 299, 300. *The Disturbances rais'd by him*, 303, 304. *His Death by* Milo, 358, 359
Cœcles, Horatius, *his extraordinary Valour*, 67
Commanders: See *Generals.*
Coriolanus, Marcius, *his great Valour*, 86, 87. *His Beha-*

Behaviour exaſperates the People, 88. *His Trial and Baniſhment*, 89, 90. *Turns againſt his Country with great Succeſs*, 91, 92, 93. *Is perſuaded by his Mother to deſiſt, and is afterwards ſlain*, 94.
Corvus, *or* Corvinus: *See* Valerius Corvus.
Craſſus *his Suppreſſion of* Spartacus, 272. *He joins in the firſt* Triumvirate, 293. *Gains the Conſulſhip with* Pompey *by Force*, 305. *His Eaſtern Expedition, Overthrow and Death*, 311, 312.
Curiatii: *See* Horatii *and* Curiatii.
Curio, *his ſerviceable Aſſiſtance to* Julius Cæſar, 318, 319. *His Death*, 331.
Curius Dentatus, *overthrows* Pyrrhus 177, 178.
Curſor: *See* Papirius Curſor.
Curtius, *his incredible Bravery*, 150.

D.

Decimus Brutus: *See* Brutus Decimus.
Decius Mus, *his Dying for his Country*, 158
Decius Mus, *his Son, his ſame Practice*, 168
Dentatus: *See* Curius Dentatus *and* Siccius Dentatus.
Druſus, *his unfortunate Attempts, and Death*, 254

F.

Fabii, *their Generoſity, Valour, and Deſtruction*, 98, 99.
Fabius Maximus, *his cautious Proceedings againſt* Hannibal, 203, 204, 205
Fabricius, *his great Steadineſs and Generoſity*, 173, 174, 175
Flemma: *See* Calpurnius Flemma.
Fulvia, M. Anthony's *Wife, her Hatred to* Cicero, 386. *Raiſes a Civil War againſt* Octavius, 401. *Her Death*, 405

G.

Generals or Commanders, the principal were Romulus, Tullus Hoſtilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priſcus, Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, Camillus, Manlius, Papirius Curſor, *and* Curius Denatus, *among the Ancient* Romans. *Among the latter were* Fabius, Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio *the Greater*, Scipio *the Leſs*, Æmilius Paulus, Marius, Sylla, Sertorius, Lucullus, Pompey, Julius Cæſar, and M. Anthony.

Gracchus, *the Elder, or* Tiberius, *his Laws, Seditious Attempts and Death*, 237 to 240.

Gracchus *the Younger, or* Caius, *his many Attempts and Alterations in the State, and Death*, 241 to 246.

Gauls, *their principal Wars with the* Romans, 135 to 142.

H.

Hannibal, *the* Carthaginian *General, his March over the* Alps, 199, 200. *Beats the* Romans *at* Ticenum *and at* Trebia, 200, 201. *At* Thraſymene, 202, 203. *And at* Cannæ, 205, 206. *He declines*, 207. to 213. *Is intirely beaten by* Scipio, 216, 217. *His after Acts*, 222, 223. *His Death and Reflections upon the* Romans, 226

Herod *King of* Judæa, *his Submiſſion to* Octavius, *and Cruelty to his Wife*, 426, 427.

Herſilia, *her generous Behaviour*, 14

Horatii *and* Curiatii, *their Combat for their Country*, 27, 28.

Horatius Coecles: *See* Coecles, Horatius.

Hortenſia, *her Behaviour and Speech to the ſecond* Triumvirate. 387, 388.

I.

INDEX.

I.

Janus, *its Temple built and ſhut the firſt time by* Numa Pompilius, 21. *A ſecond time,* 193. *A third time by* Octavius, 437, 438.

Illyrian *War,* 193, 194.

Italian *War: See* Social *War.*

Jugurthine *War,* 248, 251.

Julius Cæſar, *his danger in* Sylla's *Proſcription,* 266. *He favours* Pompey's *firſt great Authority,* 277. *His Behaviour in relation to* Cataline's *Conſpiracy,* 286, 287. *His Riſe and Acts in* Spain, 288, 289, 290. *He quits his Triumph, and joins with* Pompey *and* Craſſus *in the firſt* Triumvirate, 292, 293. *His Conſulſhip,* 296, 297, 298. *His Expeditions againſt the* Gauls, Germans, Britains, &c. 300 to 304. and 306 to 310. and 315, 316. *Falls out with* Pompey *and the Senate, and becomes Maſter of all* Italy, 320 to 327. *His Expedition againſt* Afranius *and* Petreus *in* Spain, 328 to 331. *Againſt* Pompey *in* Illyricum, 333 to 341. *And in* Theſſaly, 342 to 348. *His Wars in* Ægypt, *and Love to* Cleopatra, 351 to 355. *Againſt* Pharnaces *in* Aſia, 356, 357. *Againſt* Cato *and others in* Africa, 357, 358, 359. *His Magnificent Triumph,* 360, 361. *He regulates the* Roman *Year,* 361, 362. *His Expedition againſt* Pompey's *Sons in* Spain, 362, 363, 364. *His great Honours and Acts at* Rome, 365 to 370. *His Death and Character,* 371 to 374. *His remarkable Funeral,* 377, 378, 379.

L.

Lepidus *joyns in the ſecond* Triumvirate *with* Octavius *and* M. Anthony, 384, 385. *He is confind to* Africk *by* Octavius, 406. *And after that baniſh'd by him,* 411.

Lucius Junius Brutus: *See* Brutus, Lucius Junius.

Lucre-

Lucretia, *her Rape and voluntary Death*, 51, 52
Lucullus, *his Acts and Succeſs againſt* Mithridates, 271, &c. *Is ſtopp'd in his Progreſs by the Senate*, 274. *Falls out with* Pompey, 278

M.

Macedonian *War, the firſt*, 218 to 221. *The ſecond*, 226 to 229
Mælius, *his popular Deſigns, and Death*, 125, 126
Manlius Capitolinus, *his Valour in ſaving the* Capitol, 141. *His Deſigns, Trial and Execution*, 143, 144
Manlius Torquatus, *his Combat with a* Gaul, 151. *His ſevere Juſtice*, 158
Marcellus, *his Succeſs againſt* Hannibal, 207. *His Acts in* Sicily, 208, 209. *His Death*, 212
Mariamne, *Wife to King* Herod, *her Death*, 426, 427
Marius, *his firſt Riſe and Acts againſt* Jugurth *King of* Numidia, 250, 251. *Againſt the* Cimbrians, 251, 252. *In the* Social *War*, 156. *Occaſions the firſt Civil War, and his Danger*, 257, 258, 259. *His Acts and Cruelties in this War, with his Death*, 259, 260, 261.
Marius, *the younger, his Son, his ill Succeſs in the firſt Civil War, with his Death*, 264, 265
Maſaniſſa, *his remarkable Paſſion*, 215
Mecænas, *his Speech and Advice to* Octavius *in relation to the holding the Empire*, 441, 442, 443
Menenius Agrippa, *his skilful Management of the Seditious Commons*, 81, 82
Metullus Numidicus, *his Acts againſt King* Jugurth, 249, 250. *His Troubles and Recovery*, 252, 253
Milo *the Tribune oppoſes* Clodius, 303, 304. *At laſt kills him*, 313. *And is baniſh'd*, 314
Mithridatick *War, the firſt*, 257, 262. *The ſecond*, 268. *The third*, 271 to 274. and 277 to 281. Mithridates *his Death*, 281, 282
Mutius Scævola: *See* Scævola, Mutius.
Mutius: *See* Decius Mus.

INDEX.

N.

Nævius, *his Augury*, 38
Numa Pompilius, *the ſecond King of* Rome, *his backwardneſs to accept of the Kingdom*, 19, 20. *His Reign* 21 to 24
Numantia, *its Siege*, 235, 236

O.

Octavia, *Siſter to* Auguſtus Cæſar, *her Worth, and Marriage to* M. Anthony, 405. *Reconciles her Husband and Brother*, 409. *Her generous Speech in relation to both Parties*, 417. *Her Compliance*, 419, 420
Octavius Cæſar, *declares himſelf Heir to* Julius Cæſar, *with his Succeſs*, 379, 380, 381. *Marches againſt* M. Anthony, 381, 382. *Falls out with the Senate*, 383. *Joins with* Anthony *and* Lepidus *in the ſecond* Triumvirate, 384, 385. *Marches againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *and by* Anthony's *Aſſiſtance overthrows 'em*, 393, 394, 395. *His Cruelties after their Deaths*, 396. *His troubleſom Diviſion of Lands*, 400. *His War with* Lucius Antonius, *and Succeſs*, 401, 402, 403. *And with young* Pompey, 408, 410. *His Marriage with* Livia, 408. *Is choſen perpetual Tribune*, 413. *Falls out with* Anthony, 417, &c. *Proclaims War againſt him*, 420. *Beats him at* Actium, 424, 425. *Viſits* Cleopatra, 434, 435. *Reduces* Ægypt, *and ſhuts the Temple of* Janus, 437, 438. *His grand Conſultation with* Agrippa *and* Mecænas, 439 to 443. *His Ordinances*, 444, 445, 446. *His Speech to the Senate*, 446, 447. *His Eſtabliſhment of the* Roman *Empire, and his taking the Title of* Auguſtus, 448, 449, 450

INDEX.

P.

Papirius Curſor, *his Acts againſt the* Samnites, 163, 165, 166.

Paulus Æmilius: *See* Æmilius Paulus.

Peruſian *War.* 401, 402, 403.

Petreus: *See* Afranius.

Pompey *the Great, his Acts in the firſt Civil War,* 164, 165. *In* Africk 265. *Againſt* Sertorius *in* Spain, 269, 270. *Againſt the Pirates,* 275, 276. *Againſt* Mithridates, Tigranes, *and many other Eaſtern Kings,* 278 to 283. *His magnificent Triumph,* 290, 291. *Is oppos'd by the Senate,* 292. *And joyns in the firſt* Triumvirate, 293. *Aſſiſts* Julius Cæſar *in his Conſulſhip,* 297. *Procures* Cicero's *Reſtoration,* 303, 304. *Gains the Conſulſhip with* Craſſus *by force,* 305. *His ſole Conſulſhip,* 314. *Falls out with* Julius Cæſar, 320. *Abandons* Rome, 323. *And alſo* Italy, 326, 327. *His Wars with* Julius Cæſar, 332 to 347. *His Misfortunes, Death, and Funeral,* 347 to 350.

Pompey, Sextus, *his Son, joyns with his elder Brother* Cneius *againſt* Julius Cæſar, 362, 363, 364. *Has great Authority procur'd him by* M. Anthony, 380. *Relieves many proſcrib'd Perſons,* 387. *He ſeverely moleſts* Italy, *and comes to a Treaty with* Octavius Cæſar, 405, 406. *His Wars with him after that, and Death.* 408 to 411.

Pontius Cominius, *his bold Attempt,* 140.

Poplicola, Valerius, *his ſeveral Acts and Death,* 61 to 70.

Porcia, *Daughter to* Cato *the Younger, her Courage,* 371. *Her ſtrange Death,* 396.

Porſena, *King of* Hetruria, *beſieges* Rome, *and ſhews great Generoſity to the* Romans. 66 to 69.

Proſcriptions, the firſt by Sylla, *and its Effects,* 266, 267. *The ſecond by the ſecond* Triumvirate, *and its Effects,* 385 to 389.

Punick, *or* Carthaginian *War, the first,* 181 to 191. *The second,* 198 to 217. *The third,* 230 to 333
Pyrrhus, *King of* Epirus, *his Successes against the* Romans, *and Civility,* 171 to 176. *He is at last worsted, and abandons* Italy, 177, 178, 179

Q.

Quintius Cincinnatus: *See* Cincinnatus, Quintius.
Quintius Flaminius, *his Success against King* Philip *in the first* Macedonian *War,* 219, 220

R.

Regulus, *his Acts against the* Carthaginians, *and Defeat,* 186. *His extraordinary Bravery and Death,* 189, 190
Remus, *falls out with his Brother* Romulus, *and is slain,* 6, 7
Romulus, *his Birth,* 5. *Re-inthrones his Grand-father* Numitor, 6. *Founds the City of* Rome, 7. *His Reign,* 8 to 18

S.

Saturninus, *his Sedition and Death,* 252, 253
Scævola, Mutius, *his extraordinary Courage and Boldness,* 67, 68
Sceva, *his great Valour,* 338
Scipio Africanus, *his first Rise,* 211. *His great Success in* Spain, 213. *And in* Africk, 214, 215. *Where he at last overthrows* Hannibal, 216, 217. *Goes Lieutenant under his Brother into* Asia, 223, 224. *His noble Carriage to his Accusers, with his Retirement, and Death,* 225, 226
Scipio Africanus *the Younger, or* Æmilianus, *his Inccouragement of Learning* 229. *His Acts against* Carthage *in the third* Punick *War,* 231, 232, 233. *And*

in Spain, 236. *His Death,* 241, 242
Scipio Aſiaticus, *Brother to the Senior* Africanus, *his Succeſs againſt King* Antiochus, 223, 224. *His Diſgrace,* 226
Seditions, the principal beſides thoſe that caus'd a Separation, were, that about Marriages, 121. *That concerning Honours and Dignities,* 145, 146, 147. *That of the Elder* Gracchus, 237 to 240. *That of the Younger* Gracchus, 241 to 246. *That of* Saturninus, 252, 253. *That of* Druſus. 254
Separations, between the Patritians *and* Plebeians, *the firſt,* 00. *The ſecond,* 119. *The third,* 169
Sertorius, *his valiant Acts in* Spain, *and Death,* 269, 270
Servius Tullius, *the ſixth King of* Rome, *he obtains the Kingdom by Policy,* 39, 40. *His Reign,* 41 to 46
Sextus, *Son to the laſt* Tarquin, *his Stratagem,* 48, 49. *Raviſhes* Lucretia, 51, 52
Sibyl's *Books, the Story,* 49, 50
Siccius Dentatus, *his bold Speech,* 108. *His great Valour and Death,* 116
Sieges, the principal are, of Aleſia, 315, 316. *Of* Alexandria, 352, 353. *Of* Brunduſium, 325, 326, 327. *Of the* Capitol, 139 to 142. *Of* Carthage, 231, 232, 233. *Of* Numantia, 235, 236. *Of* Syracuſe, 208, 209. *Of* Veii, 130 to 133
Social *War, or the* Italian *War,* 254 to 257
Sophonisba, *her tragical Story,* 215
Spartacus, *his Rebellion and Suppreſſion,* 272
Sylla, *his firſt Skill in War,* 251. *His acts in the* Social *War,* 256, 257. *Againſt* Mithridates, 461, 462. *In the firſt Civil War,* 263, 264, 265. *His great Cruelties,* 266. *His perpetual* Dictatorſhip, 267, 268. *His Death,* 269
Syracuſe, *its Siege,* 208 209

T.

INDEX.

T.

Tarpeia, *betrays the* Capitol, *and is ſlain*, 13
Tarquinius Priſcus, *the fifth King of* Rome, *his firſt Settlement in the City*, 33. *His Reign*, 41 to 46
Tarquinius Superbus, *the ſeventh and laſt King of* Rome, *he murders his Prince, and obtains the Kingdom by Force*, 45, 46. *His Reign*, 46 to 54. *His Baniſhment*, 54, 55. *His firſt Efforts to regain his Kingdom*, 60, 61. *His ſecond* 64. *His third*, 65, &c. *His fourth and laſt*, 73, &c. *His Death*, 78
Tatius, *King of the* Sabines, *his War againſt* Rome, 13. *Is made King of* Rome *with* Romulus, 14. *His Death*, 15
Tigranes, *King of* Armenia, *his Pride, and ill Succeſs againſt the* Romans, 273, 274. *Refuſes to receive* Mithridates *after his Defeat, and makes a Peace with the* Romans, 279, 280
Torquatus: *See* Manlius Torquatus.
Tullus Hoſtillius, *the third King of* Rome, *his Reign*, 25 to 30.

V.

Valerius Corvus, *his remarkable Combat with a* Gaul, 153
Valiant Men, beſides Generals, the moſt remarkable were, the Horatii *and* Curiatii, Coecles, Scævola, *the* Fabii, Siccius Dentatus, Curtius, Manlius Torquatus, Valerius Corvus, Calpurnius Flemma, *and* Scæva.
Veii, *beſieg'd and taken after ten Years*, 130 to 133
Ventidius, *his Succeſs againſt the* Parthians, 407
Veturia, *Mother to* Coriolanus, *her generous Care for her Country, and Succeſs*, 93, 94.
Virginia, *her tragical Story*, 116, 117, 118

INDEX.

W.

Wars the moſt remarkable by Name, were, the Allobrogick, Antiochian, Cimbrian, Ciſalpine-Gallick, *Civil* Gallick, Illyrian, Jugurthine, Macedonian, Mithridatick, Peruſian, Punick *or* Carthaginian, Pyrrhian, Social *or* Italian.

Writers and Learned Men mentioned in this Book, are, Livius, Andronicus, Ennius, *and* Nævius, 192. Plautus 221. Terence, Scipio, *and* Lelius, 229. Lucillus 236. Lucretius, 253. Varro, 271. Saluſt, 315. Virgil, 400, 401. Livy, Horace, *and* Ovid, 443. *In other Places ſee* Cicero, Cæſar, Cato, &c.

X.

Xantippus, *overthrows the* Romans, *and is murder'd,* 186

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